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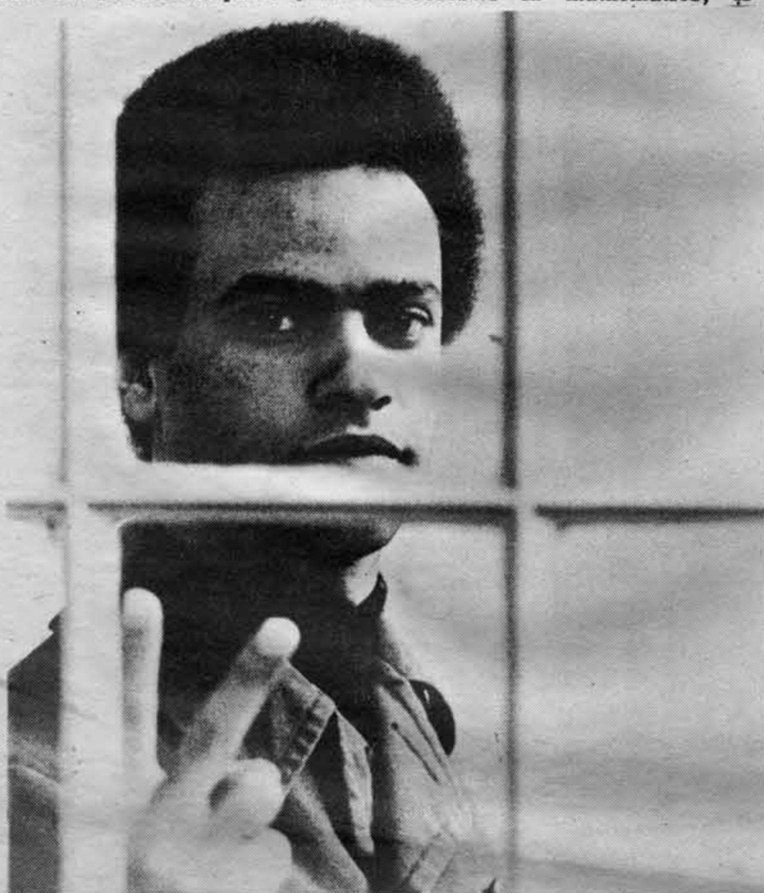




Prison, Where Is Thy Victory?

Huey P. Newton

When a person studies mathematics, he learns that there are many mathematical laws which determine the approach he must take to solving the problems presented to him. In the study of geometry, one of the first laws a person learns is that "the whole is not greater than the sum of its parts". This means simply that one cannot have a geometrical figure such as a circle or a square which in its totality, contains more than it does when broken down into smaller parts. Therefore, if all the smaller parts add up to a certain amount, the entire figure cannot add up to a larger amount. The prison cannot have a victory over the prisoner, because those in charge take the same kind of approach to the prisoner and assume if they have the whole body in a cell that they have there all that makes up the person. But a prisoner is not a geometrical figure, and an approach which is successful in mathematics, is wholly unsuccessful when dealing with human beings.



Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense

In the case of the human, we are not dealing only with the single individual, we are also dealing with the ideas and beliefs which have motivated him and which sustain him, even when his body is confined. In the case of humanity the whole is much greater than its parts, because the whole includes the body which is measurable and confineable, and also the ideas which cannot be measured and which cannot be confined. The ideas are not only within the mind of the prisoner where they cannot be seen nor controlled, the ideas are also within the people. The ideas which can and will sustain our movement for total freedom and dignity of the people, cannot be imprisoned, for they are to be found in the people, all the people, wherever they are. As long as the people live by the ideas of freedom and dignity there will be no prison which can hold our movement down. Ideas move from one person to another in the association of brothers and sisters who recognize that a most evil system of capitalism has set us against each other, when our real enemy is the exploiter who profits from our poverty. When we realize such an idea then we come to love and appreciate our brothers and sisters who we may have seen as enemies, and those expoliters who we may have seen as friends are revealed for what they truly are to all oppressed people. The people are the idea, the respect and dignity of the people, as they move toward their freedom is the sustaining force which reaches into and out of the prison. The walls, the bars, the guns and the guards can never encircle or hold down the idea of the people. And the people must always carry forward the idea which is their dignity and their beauty.

The prison operates with the idea that when it has a person's body it has his entire being--since the whole cannot be greater than the sum of its parts. They put the body in a cell, and seem to get some sense of relief and security from that fact. The idea of prison victory then, is that when the person in jail begins to act, think, and believe the way they want him to, then they have won the battle and the person is then "rehabilitated". But this cannot be the case, because those who operate the prisons, have failed to examine their own beliefs thoroughly, and they fail to understand the types of people they attempt to control. Therefore, even when the prison thinks it has won the victory, there is no victory.

There are two types of prisoners. The largest number are those who accept the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. They wish to acquire the same goals as everybody else, money, power, greed, and conspicuous consumption. In order to do so, however, they adopt techniques and methods which the society has defined as illegitimate. When this is discovered such people are put in jail. They may be called "illegitimate capitalists" since their aim is to acquire everything this capitalistic society defines as legitimate. The second type of prisoner, is the one who rejects the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. He argues that the people at the bottom of the society are exploited for the profit and advantage of those at the top. Thus, the oppressed exist, and will always be used to maintain the privileged status of the exploiters. There is no sacredness, there is no dignity in either exploiting or being exploited. Although this system may make the society function at a high level of technological efficiency, it is an illegitimate system, since it rests upon the suffering of humans who are as worthy and as dignified as those who do not suffer. Thus, the second type of prisoner says that the society is corrupt and illegitimate and must be overthrown. This second type of prisoner is the political prisoner. They do not accept the legitimacy of the society and cannot participate in its corrupting exploitation, whether they are in the prison or on the block.

The prison cannot gain a victory over either type of prisoner no matter how hard it tries. The "Illegitimate capitalist" recognizes that if he plays the game the prison wants him to play, he will have his time reduced and be released to continue his activities. Therefore, he is willing to go through the prison programs and do the things he is told. He is willing to say the things the prison authorities want to hear. The prison assumes he is "rehabilitated" and ready for the society. The prisoner has really played the prison's game so that he can be released to resume pursuit of his capitalistic goals. There is no victory, for the prisoner from the gitgo accepted the idea of the society. He pretends to accept the idea of the prison as a part of the game he has always played.

The prison cannot gain a victory over the political prisoner because he has nothing to be rehabilitated from or to. He refuses to accept the legitimacy of the system and refuses to participate. To participate is to admit that the society is legitimate because of its exploitation of the oppressed. This is the idea which the political prisoner does not accept, this is the idea for which he has been imprisoned, and this is the reason why he cannot cooperate with the system. The political prisoner will, in fact, serve his time just as will the "illegitimate capitalist". Yet the idea which motivated and sustained the political prisoner rests in the people, all the prison has, is a body.

The dignity and beauty of man rests in the human spirit which makes him more than simply a physical being. This spirit must never be suppressed for exploitation by others. As long as the people recognize the beauty of their human spirits and move against suppression and exploitation, they will be carrying out one of the most beautiful ideas of all time. Because the human whole is much greater than the sum of its parts, the ideas will always be among the people. The prison cannot be victorious because walls, bars and guards cannot conquer or hold down an idea.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE:
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE, AND PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD.

Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

Omaha Fascist Killer Is Supported By AFL-CIO



AP Wirephoto

VIVIAN STRONG
'A shot and she fell'



AP Wirephoto

JAMES LODER
A break-in call

One witness said that Loder "just raised his arm and shot. He just fired one shot and Vivian fell. The cop didn't yell "halt" or nothing. He just stood there and shot".

Last week a fascist pig killer by the name of James Loder shot and killed a fourteen year old black girl in Omaha, Nebraska. The child, Vivian Strong, was shot in cold blood by this pig while she was doing no more than James Rector was doing when he became target practice for the trigger happy American S.S. The witnessing of this outright murder, this outright extermination of a human life, sparked the fuel for fire that was always there. People picked up the gun to defend themselves against the gestapo forces that occupy their community like a foreign troop occupies territory.

This fascist terror, this genocide is not only tolerated by those who hold power in society, but it is also endorsed and financed by them. Before Vivian Strong was even buried, the AFL-CIO had established a defense fund for Pig James Loder. Funds have been contributed by such locals as the state, county, and municipal Employees Union of Nebraska. Fascist punk Loder has been charged with manslaughter according to my latest information. This means that the pig will be walking the streets ready to kill again while Huey P. Newton has to sit and suffer at the hands of California's fascist goons in prison. The dirty news media has already attempted to sway public sympathy toward this fascist killer by stating that he is the adopted son of actress Hedy Lamarr. The oppressed people of Babylon don't give a fuck because Vivian Strong is somebody's daughter also.

The AFL-CIO can well afford to defend its hired killers, seeing as they get their money from the American CIA who has a blank check to finance any atrocity that it so chooses. This allotment from the CIA to seven unions is $1.3 million. The people know this and a whole lot more. This is why more and more people have picked up the gun, and declared: "the fascist pigs must withdraw their oppressive forces or Blood to the Horse's Brow and Woe to those Who Cannot Swim."

Bigman

The Political Prisoner

Hail to thee Brother Huey.
Power to thee, man who art
Truly a man. Honor to thee,
Man whose blood makes him noble.
Noble Black blood. Freedom blood.
Blood of the people.
He whose body courses with
revolutionary life blood, that energizes his being with the force and
power
Of a people struggling to be free.
He whose concepts and ideals
cannot be encased in a steel cage.
But possesses wings forged from
the hope and desperation of the
oppressed masses.
And fly into the Hearts and Minds
of the people.
We will be free someday, Brother Huey.
You will be the cause of it.
Therefore your body will be freed
as your mind and soul already are.
We swear it, beloved leader.
Love and Power will free us.
Love (for freedom) and Power (to
us) will free you.

Barry L. Hicks



Photo by Lou de la Torre

S. I. Hayakawa

Civilian Exclusion Order No. 5

WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION

Presidio of San Francisco, California
April 1, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

LIVING IN THE FOLLOWING AREA:

All that portion of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, lying generally west of the north-south line established by Junipero Serra Boulevard, Worchester Avenue, and Nineteenth Avenue, and lying generally north of the east-west line established by California Street, to the intersection of Market Street, and thence on Market Street to San Francisco Bay.

All Japanese persons, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above designated area by 12:00 o'clock noon, Tuesday, April 7, 1942.

No Japanese person will be permitted to enter or leave the above described area after 8:00 a. m., Thursday, April 2, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the Provost Marshal at the Civil Control Station located at·

1701 Van Ness Avenue
San Francisco, California

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.

2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property including: real estate, business and professional equipment, buildings, household goods, boats, automobiles, livestock, etc.

3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.

4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence, as specified below.

THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS MUST BE OBSERVED:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 a. m. and 5:00 p. m., Thursday, April 2, 1942, or between 8:00 a. m. and 5:00 p. m., Friday, April 3, 1942.

2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Reception Center, the following property:

(a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
(b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
(c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
(d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
(e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions received at the Civil Control Station.

The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

No contraband items as described in paragraph 6, Public Proclamation No. 3, Headquarters Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, dated March 24, 1942, will be carried.

3. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage at the sole risk of the owner of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.

4. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Reception Center. Private means of transportation will not be utilized. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station at 1701 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, California, between 8:00 a. m. and 5:00 p. m., Thursday, April 2, 1942, or between 8:00 a. m. and 5:00 p. m., Friday, April 3, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

See Civilian Exclusion Order No. 5

Liberation School from a Mother's Point of View

On Wednesday, June 25, the first Black Panther Liberation School in the East Bay was started at the Good Sheppard Church, 9th and Hearst Streets in Berkeley. Having heard the sound trucks through the neighborhood announcing the start of school the day before, I decided to go down with my two year old son to observe the scene and see what I could contribute to it. What I found was a well organized, progressive school in the true spirit of socialism.

On the first day about 10 to 15 children, ages from four to ten, showed up. Now, after over a week, the attendence varies from 25 to 30. All are given a warm welcome into the "Big Family", as the group is called. In fact, I was warmly surprised when talking with one of the Panther sisters on the first day to hear her say, "Could you bring your son every day?" Not sure of what a spirited two year old could learn and/or contribute, I decided to give it a try and continue to do so with few regrets.

The day begins at 9:00 a.m. with about three or four children. A breakfast of cereal, milk and fruit or donuts milk and fruit is served them by the Panther staff and community volunteers, many of whom are active in other organizations. As soon as the few are served, the "rush" of the remaining children arriving begins. All are served at the low tables and they eat quitely, receiving seconds if desired, and after finishing the children clean up the tables. As soon as all are finished the class begins.

The class is taught by one of the Panther sisters staff (the staff has changed several times as the starting staff have gone to start other programs and are replaced.) The teaching follows the Panther program and knowledge of the key Panther learders--Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Hutton, Bobby Seale, in particular--form a daily part of the class. The children are also taught about society in terms of the class struggle in a clear way which is easily understood by children.

Each day of the week is allocated to a particular study: one day will be set aside for teaching class struggle, another will be taken up with a film about such struggles as the Democratic National Convention in Chicago and Friday is Field Day. The Field Days are orgnized around Panther activities and are designed to graphically demonstrate the racist, class nature of the society in which the children live. Thus, one week the children visited the scene of the April 6, 1968, police massacre which resulted in the death by murder of Bobby Hutton. The class also saw the scene where Huey P. Newton was accosted by Oakland pigs and framed on a manslaughter charge. During the week, the children study about current events, revolutionary culture as well as theory of class struggle.

The educaton is well received. The children retain the knowledge well as key and complicated concepts are put on simple terms. Definitions such as "Liberation means Freedom", Revolution means change", "Revolutionaries are Changers", are easily understood by the children and each of the definitions are explained in greater detail during the course of study. All of the key personalities in the Black Panther Party and in politics are identified with large posters or pictures, with a key meaning put to them so that children won't forget these individuals. For instance, one well known picture of Eldridge Cleaver shows him eating a piece of watermelon. So, the teacher shows the picture and asks, "Who is he?" "Eldridge Cleaver!" is the loud response. "What is Eldridge doing?" "Eating watermelon!"

Discipline for such a youthful group presents no problem. Discipline is enforced in a positive social sense; children are taught to be responsible to themselves and others. Thus, they are admonished that "if you want to be a part of the Big Family, you have to behave" or "If you are going to be a revolutionary, you must listen". They are also admonished that selfish, irresponsible actions are not socialistic.

Part of the training includes physical exercise. Each of the children take turns in "teaching" the class by leading in the various exercises. Leaders are picked according to their behavior and degree of responsibility. Even the staff and voluntary staff participate, following as the leader calls out "30 jumping jacks"--and one might add, "and one for Huey!"

After the exercises, the children line up in pairs and march to Panther songs down the block and back again, appearing very much like a revolutionary army. Into the building they march and sit down to a snack of fruit and class resumes again.

The children are also afforded an opportunity to exercise their creative talents with drawing from cartoons in the Black Panther Party newspaper or just free lance. The children--if not the adults--know what they are drawing. Examining one four year old's rather confusing, colored shapes on paper, I asked what it was. She confidently replied, "It's a big grocery store where they rob the people." Right on!

Although both the breakfasts and lunches are adequate, the staff often finds it necessary to dip into their own pockets for food and non-food items such as napkins, paper cups, etc. The donations simply are not collected fast enough and the expanding program requires increasing donations. Splendid organization is not enough; funds for food and improvements in cooking facilities are very much needed. Not only for the Summer program, but for the regular school year. The assault by pigs upon the Sacramento office of the Black Panther Party illustrates clearly that it is not only a question of money alone. It is a question of political struggle so that the whole of society--not a small collection of individuals within it--will meet the urgent needs of providing hot lunches and breakfasts for all children. Donations of food and money can be made to the Black Panther Party, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94705.

I am not entirely sure of what my two year old son has learned about either the Panthers or Revolutionary struggle, although he has benefitted from the discipline and daily conduct with other children. But one thing is sure: the Black Panther Party has hit upon a very revolutionary concept in education and comes the Fall, the "little changers" will march off to school well nourished in food and thought to teach others what they have learned. They will grow up fully capable of confronting the "power structure", the ruling class in a meaningful fashion, fully prepared to wage whatever kind of struggle is required to recreate America along more humane, just, socialist lines.

Perhaps my little son will, in time, come to understand the most important thing--that "Fascism is the fat (avaricious) businessman."

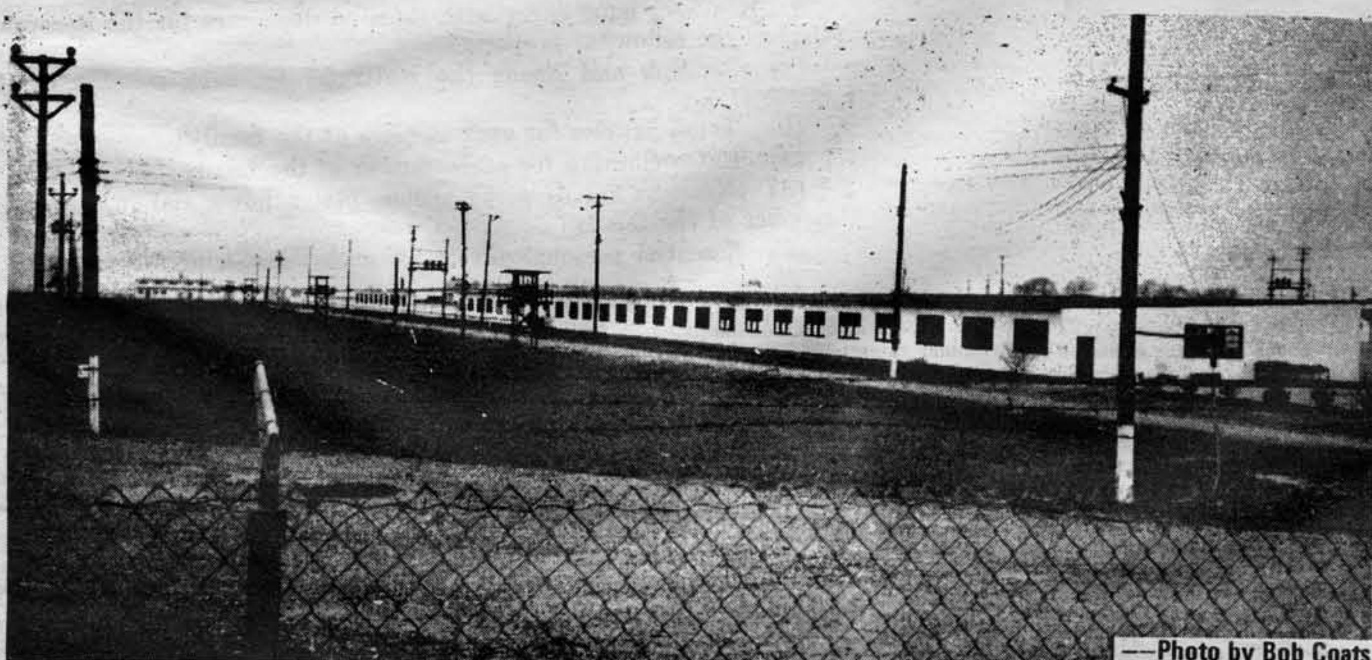
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
ALL POWER TO THE YOUTH

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

In a recent article I've written about the extermination of our Black population. Well, now if you are still not convinced here comes the WHERE'S.

Let's deal with the names and locations before going any further:

Tule Lake - Claifornia
Wickenburg - Arizona
Florence - Arizona
Safford - Arizona
Tucson - Arizona
El Reno - Oklahoma
Montgomery - Alabama
Greenville - South Carolina
Mill Point - West Virginia
Allenwood - Pennsylvania
Avon Park - Florida
Elmendorf - Alaska



—Photo by Bob Coats

Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center was the scene recently of non-violent uprisings by political prisoners who were incensed bv irrational police authoritarianism and coercion.

Well these are the known areas for detention. This may be your home tomorrow or it may be your place of burial the day after. I stated "Maybe", because I don't know if you are armed or not and I don't know if you are brainwashed and, or narrow-minded or not and I don't know if you exercise the wisdom of being prepared just in case the Black Panther Party is right or not. I don't know if you value your life enough to fight for it. So I'll stick to "Maybe".

Three of these detention centers are now in operational use in a slightly different guise, the rest (as far as I know) are ready and available with a minimum of preparation - and all that is needed to fill these camps with thousands of Black, whites, browns, is a high ranking pig - (probably one you voted in) to launch "Operation Dragnet".

The warrants already exist. The concentration camps are mostly ready and waiting. Only the time to fill them has not yet arrived. Operation Dragnet is the manifestation of Title II of the Beastly McCarran Act, a law which when put into force can slap at least 12,000 suspected subversives behind barbed wire within 24 hours.

On September 22, 18 years ago Congress, by a two-thirds vote, made an official public law 831. Now it is known as the Internal Security Act of 1950. Under it, the president is authorized to declare the existence of an "Internal Security Emergency" caused by war, invasion or CIVIL UPRISING.

Thus giving the pigs the power to arrest and jail anyone they think will engage in or probably conspire against the government of the United States. You can be snatched off the streets or from your home and never be heard from again. (Remember the beginning outrages against the Jewish population of Germany) Ponar. Without even a hearing, Title II permits the G-men or other arresting officers to jail you for 48 hours - and if in that period of time the Attorney General's office feels that you are any way a threat to National Security, your hearing as well as your whereabouts can be kept secret. Anyone considered as a ghetto dweller can be a threat because the manner of life you are forced to live warrants change, not to mention, revenge.

The Bay Area is full of FBI, CIA (G-Men) or shall we say S.S. I advise you not to take this lightly, because if you are not following the advice and tactics set down for you by the Black Panther Party, then you are virtually defenseless.

For you brothers and sisters who plan to survive here in the Bay Area or any where in fascist U S.A. I say to you "All Power to the People". For the rest I will sadly say, that Tule Lake, Calif., nine miles outside of Newall is waiting for you. From 1942 through March 1946 it held 16,000 Japanese-Americans, when they were released they fled the barbed wire and clapboard GI barracks like the wretched internees they were.

Tule Lake has been on standby since 1952, about the same time that the numerous passification and dividing programs popped up on the scene. The plan is set out in elaborate detail in a government document of the 90th Congress and session called House Report No: 1351 and is dated May 6, 1968. Here is how the Blacks will be dealt with: Identification cards will be issued, and combat areas such as ghettos or riot torn college campuses, will be sealed off, and then...

1. A curfew would be imposed on the enclosed areas. No one would be allowed out of or into, the area after sundown.
2. During the night, authorities will not only patrol the boundry lines, but will also attempt to control the streets and, if necessary send out foot patrols through the entire area. If the guerrillas attempt to either break out of the area or (try) to engage the authorities in combat, they will be readily suppressed.
3. During a guerrilla uprising, most civil liberties will have to be suspended: Search and seizure operations would be instituted during daylight hours. Anyone found armed or without proper identification will be immediately arrested.

"Most of the people of the ghetto would not be involved in the guerrilla operations and, under conditions of police and military control, some would help in ferreting out the guerrillas. Their help will be invaluable.

4. If the guerrillas were able to hold out for a period of time then the population of the ghetto would be classified through an office for 'control and organization of the inhabitants.'

"This office would distribute census cards which would bear a photograph of the individual, the letter of the district in which he lives, his house and street number and a letter designating his home city. This classification would aid authorities in knowing the exact location of any suspect and who is in control of any given district. Under such a system, movement would be proscribed and the ability of the guerrilla to move freely from place to place would be seriously curtailed.

5. The population within the ghetto would be exhorted to work with authorities and to report both on guerrillas and any suspicious activity they might note.

'Police agencies would be in a position to make immediate arrests, without warrants, under suspension of guarantees usually provided by the Constitution.

6. Acts of overt violence by the guerrillas, would mean that they have declared 'a state of war' within the country and, therefore, would forfeit their rights as in wartime.

"The McCarren Act provides for various detention centers to be operated throughout the country and these might well be utilized for the temporary imprisonment of warring guerrillas.

7. The very nature of guerrilla operations as presently envisioned by certain Communists and black nationalists would be impossible to sustain. According to the most knowledgeable guerrilla warefare experts in the country, the revolutionaries could be isolated and destroyed in a short period of time".

And that's official. That's Uncle Sam's plan. Thousands of human beings are already slated for this degenerate beastly system's secret camps. The odds are one in 200 that you are among them.

How do the names get there? Post office, police records, credit cards, welfare roles, school records, medical records, employment records, credit ratings.

Purpose of concentration camps: "The concentration camp, first used against the people of Germany was one of the fundamental institutions of the Nazi regime. It was a pillar of the system of terror by which the Nazis consolidated their power over Germany. It was a primary weapon in the battle against the jews, against the Christian Church, against labor, against opposition or non conformity of any kind.

"The concentration camp involved the systematic use of terror to achieve the cohesion within Germany which was necessary for the execution of the Nazi conspirators plans for aggression. It was the final link in a chain, of terror and repression which involved the S S. and the gestapo, and which resulted in the apprehension of victims and their confinement without trial, often without charges and generally with on out charges and generally with no indication of the length of their detention."

Statement of American prosecution of Nuremberg War Crimes Trials 1946 - Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression.

Richmond, California

Tools of Oppression

The people of Richmond have been suffering for years, not knowing why. They have been subjected to extreme measures of oppression. Through investigation and study, we have arrived at a concrete analysis of the situation. We have found that there are four chief categories of oppression here in Richmond, and all over fascist Babylon: (1) the avaricious (greedy, exploiting) businessman, (2) Crazy demagogic (lying, deceiving) politicians (3) Fascist gestapo terrorist pigs, (4) The hypocritical uncle tom clergy. All four of these exploiters are the most harmful elements to the people of Richmond. They have prevented the people from gaining true sight of themselves or their community. The avaricious (greedy, exploiting) businessman comes into the community under the pretense that he is a friend of the community. Knowing that in reality he's going to try to exploit the community to its fullest. This greedy exploiting man gains control economically by having the only store in that community which carries all the items and produce that the people need to survive. He then sets prices that he knows the people are unable to afford, this is where his friendliness comes in. He tells you that you can buy these goods on the installment plan or some other sort of credit gimmick that he will work out for you. He knows that if you continue to buy on credit that he will eventually have you and the community in economic trouble. He also knows that you will begin to rely and depend on him solely.

After he controls you economically, he will start to control you socially. This is where the second category of oppression comes in, that of the demagogic politician. The demagogic politicians come into the community with lies of new housing and better education. He knows that all he's out to do is further the exploitation of an avaricious businessman. He's no thing but a paid puppet of the avaricious businessman to keep you in the dark. A clear example of the lies that are being propagated by these demagogic politicians of Richmond is that they have a mayor who is a Negro. Because he is a Negro he is supposed to be able to help black people. The truth is that he has been bought out by the avaricious (greedy, exploiting) businessman clique called Standard Oil. This is one of the many contradictions that will be brought to light by the Black Panther Party to show the people we have no use for any type of exploitation whether it be white, black, brown, or yellow. Also show the people that it is not a race struggle but a class struggle.

The hypocritical uncle tom clergy are preachers and deacons of churches who say they want to help and serve the people but when it comes down to doing it, they back off from their duties. For instance, we have asked a number of churches in Richmond to help us in implementing our breakfast program. They have refused on almost every occasion. And they have the audacity to stand up in church and say they love the people. The Black Panther Party through study and investigation sees these hypocritical preachers as avaricious fools, exploiting in the name of Jesus, who is said to have had a socialist consciousness. Such inhumanism as this must be exposed and opposed.

Fascist gestapo terrorist pigs are put in our community and every other community where there are poor and oppressed people to keep the people in the dark. They help the avaricious businessman and the demagogic politician keeps propagating and subjugating the people to the madness that they have created and perpetrated against the masses.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Letter To KQED Newsroom

Dear Newsroom:

I must protest the way Newsroom handled the appearance of Bobby Seale last Friday. Mel La Place spent considerable time introducing Seale by recounting a series of accusations and indictments of the Panthers, most of them taken from the highly questionable "evidence" of informers. When Seale himself had an opportunity to speak, he was hardly given a fair chance to present a balancing picture of the views of the Black Panther Party.

Newsroom suffers too often from an atmosphere of "let's get this story over with quickly so we can get on to the next one." The tyranny of the clock can be blamed, perhaps more than any other single factor, for the inadequacies of news coverage on commercial stations. Time limits force the media to oversimplify and to distort their news stories. One would hope KQED could do better...and most of the time you do.

But you didn't do right by Bobby Seale, and you did a great disservice to the Panthers and to the public. Perhaps Seale's way of answering questions seemed rambling and digressive; but he has something to say that the public urgently needs to hear, and you should not have been so intent on structuring his presentation to fit reporters' questions. Most of all, his appearance was too valuable for the brief time allotted to him. Instead of muzzling him so abruptly, couldn't something else have been cut (Like the theme music at the end of the show?)

Seale's use of the word 'fascism' to describe the U S was called into question by Newsroom. The term has become frequent in Panther literature, and though it sounds harsh to many ears, it needs to be heard and considered. All over the world, decent people regard the U.S. as a fascistic nation because of many aspects of both our foreign and domestic policies. In this country there is a growing awareness of the dangers of police autonomy, racism, and the military industrial complex. Yet only a few dare to suggest these problems present a very real threat of the growth of a native American fascism. The The Panthers are bringing this term into the open and attempting to educate the community - black and white - before it's too late. It behooves us to listen to what they have to say.

I hope Newsroom's future coverage of the Panthers will rectify the unfortunate picture given on Friday.

Sincerely,
Member KQED

DO WE DARE BE SILENT ?

"If the real dangers to our community are to be uprooted, let the news media and all other forces of truth and justice concentrate on the underlying causes of crime and social disorder...The causes are steeped in racism...racism in our courts, in our jails, in our streets, and in our hearts."
Judge George W. Crockett, Detroit

Repression is going on in communities across the nation. Black people have been consistently repressed simply by the very nature of their existence. The methods are economic and political. The fact of slavery, lynchings, slum housing, the mis-education of black children, the high unemployment rate among black people, and the criminal lack of medical facilities are evidence of this. Traditionally, any black person who has spoken out against the system has been systematically eliminated by various tactics: Medgar Evers was murdered; Martin Luther King was murdered; Huey Newton is in jail; while countless others have been well paid for their silence. Recently, a new dimension has been added to these methods; the mass political arrests of black people on a range of charges which have no substantiation.

The pattern is clear. Schools in the black community are being closed or occupied by armies of police; black parents are being beaten in the streets; hospitals serving the black community are having services drastically reduced; welfare budgets are being cut; mothers that protest in the name of their hungry children are beaten and jailed; and conspiracy charges against individuals and groups that speak to these problems are rampant.

The black community has no history of conspiracy or sabotage. Quite the opposite, we have always been the victims of such conspiracies, from the community lynchings in the South, to the 1963 bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, where four black children were murdered, to the March 1969 shooting up of a black church in Detroit, to the everyday humiliation and brutalization of men and women in the streets.

The legislative bodies both national and local have set as their priorities laws which perpetuate and create an increasingly repressive atmosphere for the people; examples are the McCarran Act, the local stop and frisk laws, preventive detention laws, the prohibitive welfare cuts--in other words, law and order without justice. The lack of police response where crimes are pepetrated against the black community, such as the narcotics traffic, is in sharp contrast to the daily harassment of the people of the streets and the massive resources utilized to infiltrate those black organizations seriously working for the people.

The courts do not escape complicity in this pattern. Judge George Crockett in a recently issued statement speaks of the courts following the "often accepted practices of condoning long police detentions, of ignoring prisoners' rights to counsel and of delaying the hearing on writs of habeas corpus..."

'It is in this atmosphere of ever present and now steadily growing repression of those who would oppose this country's continuing history of oppression that a new wave of mass arrests takes place. On March 29, 1969, New York District Attorney Frank Hogan is reported to have indicated that the grand jury began receiving evidence on the members of the Black Panther Party in New York. Working around the clock in secrecy, this culminated in the mass arrests of members of the Black Panther Party in their homes in a 5a.m. round-up on Wednesday, April 2. Many of the raids upon the dwelling places of individual Panthers involved the physical breaking down of doors by New York police officials and the search and seizure of many articles without the showing of search warrants even when requested to do so. This form of breaking and entering appears to have been executed in a manner well calculated to provoke. The police carried pistols and wore bullet-proof vests as they smashed open doors. This entire arrest procedure raises the most profound questions of elemental justice. The tactics are not unrelated to the terrifying practices of Hitler's gestapo in the mid and late 30's. The frightening implications of this cannot be overlooked.

Equally, if not more alarming, is the behavior of the guardians of the law with respect to their handling of the defendants once they were arrested. Here we move from police activity to the office of the prosecuting attorneys and the judiciary. The indictment, in which twenty-one persons are named, charges conspiracy to commit murder. Five persons not named in the indictment were also arested --some of whom are not even members of the Black Panther Party. The indictment charges conspiracy to blow up several department stores, some railroad property and the Botanical Gardens. Although trial has not been held, none of the defendants can exercise his right of bail because the courts and the District Attorne's office have agreed upon the unconscionably repressive and prohibitive bail of $100,000 for each defendant. This is tantamount to enforced imprisonment for a crime or crimes not in fact committed. The question of guilt or innocence thus becomes academic, since time is being served on the basis of an accusation. Our consciences and our very survival dictate that we speak to the gross injustice involved in this procedure. The whole process is indeed a new and fearsome mode of American obeisance (obediance) to the concept of law and order.

The role of the public media in each of these situations has been one to arouse within us grave apprehensions. They have consistently headlined the shooting and wounding of the Detroit policemen, while playing down the shooting up of a black church in which there were many women and children, and the wounding of four persons within that church. In New York the media has zealously proclaimed the charges against the Panther 21 in a manner which identifies, in the public mind, accusations with guilt. At the same time, the public media has refused to print the Black Panther Party's refutation of those charges.

"Concerning the charges, every Black Panther Party Chapter and leadership knows that we would not waste dynamite on the blowing up of some jive railway stations and department stores simply because some of our own poor people would be killed, and we know this is completely wrong when it comes to organizing the people." (Excerpt from Black Panther Party Press Release. April 7, 1969)

They refused to print news of a baby born prematurely and who later died because of the nature of the repressive police action directed towards its mother, Lena Powell, wife of the arrested Curtis Powell.

The arrest of the Panther 21 is not an isolated event. It is clearly tied to the arrests and murders of Panthers around the country, and more importantly, it is tied to the growing repression the the black communities in every part of the nation.

We call upon ministers around the country to provide the impetus for a public dialogue by beginning such dialogue in their own churches.

We call upon those public officials who have, up to now, maintained silence, to speak out loudly and clearly against these clear injustices.

We call for all people who are concerned about justice to protest political imprisonments and to act now in the name of justice, to act now in the name of humanity.

DO WE DARE BE SILENT?



The Chief Characteristics of Fascism

A. The Police State

Fascism depends upon its storm troopers to crush all opposition or dissent. This is why this decadent fascist American government under the reins of trick Dick Nixon has escalated its harassment and destruction of all Black Panther Party offices and other political organizations.

Secret pigs spy on the masses and any casual remark against the regime leads to swift and severe punishment. Opposition parties are dissolved. Intellectual, athletic, and recreational organizations are usually brought under the control of the fascist authority. The ruthlessness of the pigs gradually becomes less noticeable. This is because within a year or so after a fascist government takes power, vigorous opponents of the regime have either gone into exile or been murdered or have been made political prisoners.

As stated by Chairman Bobby Seale one of the pigs tactics is terror. From a study of history, going back to the epoch of time when the Ku Klux Klan let its first fascist devils run rampant across the country. Terror and murder of blacks young, old, no age limit. You can check out many magazines which show brothers hanging by their necks or awakened in the wee hours of the night to be made an example of. Blacks were drowned, burned, hung or drug at the end of a rope until dead. They were mutalated by the blood thirsty jackals. Today many have infiltrated into the ranks of the gestapo jive forces of the police.

B. Extreme Nationalism

Fascism is highly nationalistic. It tries to relate its principles with the country, so that disagreement will look like treason. Some other country, or some group within the country, is usually picked out to serve as the enemy. This can be seen in the recent weeks editions of newspapers where the Party has been called the enemy. So when the people see them riding in the Black communities 4 deep and a mini-arsonal in their trunks, they can say we're expecting trouble in the vicinity of town so we're just getting ready. We are made to appear as the cause of all evils or misfortunes. This is an outright lie because black people have always suffered at the hands of this avaricious mad dog war machine. The Black Panther Party was founded by Huey P. Newton to deal with the problems in this country, by going to the people and asking what were their needs and wants and drew up the 10-point Platform and Program.

For example, the Nazis in Germany represented their movement as a crusade against the Jews, then as a fight against Communism, and later as a struggle against the "attacks of whatever neighboring country they wished to subdue or occupy."

In 1954 when the U.S. imperialists first went over into Vietnam it was to give them arms to run out the French, but after the French left, the occupying storm troops remained. When the masses asked what were we fighting for? The scoundrels had the audacity to say we were trying to halt communist invasion, but really they were trying to take over the country. Even until today the gestapo is over in Vietnam practicing its mass genocide and murder of other oppressed and exploited masses of people. Hundred ton bombs have been dropped, they have also been subjected to various forms of chemical biological warfare. Even modern and advanced weapons have been used by these blood thirsty parasites. Mao says, "the spirit of the people is stronger than the man's technology".

Extreme nationalism often becomes a kind of race fanaticism or racism. Sometimes it combines racial and religious bigotry, as in the case of the strong American movements of the 1920's called the Ku Klux Klan.

C. The Cultivation of Ignorance

Fascism, like all forms of government, rests finally upon the sincere consent of a large part of the population which is the industrialist bourgeoisie class and some of the unaware, or those not politically educated to this ultra-right movement. We the Black Panther Party do not fight mainly for the sake of fighting but we fight and conduct propaganda among the masses, to educate and to teach them the strategic method of resistance. To maintain this consent, the Fascist demagogic politician leadership must cut off the people from any information which might cause them to doubt the complete righteousness of the fixed Fascist principles.

The newspaper, the radio, and all other means of communication are carefully censored so the public will get only those facts which the leaders want them to know. Travel to other countries must be controlled, and freedom of speech and assembly must be rigorously suppressed.

D. Militarism

Fascism maintains among the masses a permanently warlike frame of mind. Every citizen feels that he is mobilized against enemies of the regime within, and against possible foreign foes. The dictator comes to power during a period of economic crisis or depression.

He gets rid of the depression partly by employing many people in the making of weaponry. To justify this procedure, he must convince people that the country is threatened and must point toward some of the enemies against whom the arms may be used.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
Roger Johnson

POLITICAL



RICHARD MOORE



MICHAEL TABOR



LUMUMBA SHAKUR



ALEX McKIEVER



ALIBY HASSAN



KENNSIE SOANES



ALBERT NIEVES



WALTER JOHNSON



AFENI SHAKUR



EDWARD JOSEPH



ROSELAND BENNITT



JOAN BIRD



ROBERT COLLIER



CLARK SQUIRE



SHARON WILLIAMS



RAYMOND QUINONES

THE N.Y. 21

On April 2, at 5a.m., a knock came on the door from a so-called local pig. He knocked so lightly on the door I could barely hear him. Which isn't the usual procedure of the pigs. When I came to the door, I looked through peep hole, and there was a black pig standing there. I asked him what he wanted, and he told me that someone in the building had a complaint against whoever lives in the apartment. I told him I was not going to open up the door, because I knew my rights. He demanded that I open it, so I asked him if he had a warrant, and if he did, I told him to slip it under the door. He told me he didn't have one, so I said to him that I wouldn't open the door. He started oinking (begging) for me to open it up, and said that he wanted me to sign his book of complaints. I told him again that I was not going to open up the door and I said that if he wanted me to sign his book, he'd have to slip it under the door. He gave some stupid pig excuse that it couldn't fit, so I told him "That's just too bad," and "I'll sign your book tomorrow". After that statement, 6 Pigs came busting through the door with bulletproof vests on, rifles, shotguns, and 38's shaking in their hands. After busting through the door, and busting up the house, they found 3 shotguns and a 38 automatic. This made them really afraid, so they oinked to the rest of the pigs to come off the roofs and fire escapes.

The pigs began taking all my posters off the walls and all my black and revolutionary books. I asked them what had they wanted my books for and they said they were going to send them to Washington. I told them that these books can be purchased in any store. They said they were sending these posters to Washington as evidence against us. These posters were of Malcolm X, Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, Mao Tse Tung, Che Guevara, and other revolutionary people around the world.

At about 6:00a.m., I was taken to the Pigs office and they separated me from everyone else and started pouring questions on me. I told them that I knew my rights, and that I didn't have to answer any of their questions, and if they wanted any information, to find it out on their own since they were getting paid for it.

From the time I was arrested until I was brought to court, I asked the 4 Pigs who were guarding me to please loosen the cuffs on my wrists because they were too tight. So one of them said, "Let the bitch stay the way she is." I told them I was six months pregnant and that being handcuffed with the cuffs tight behind my back was not only hurting my wrists, but was putting pressure on my stomach, which pained me very much. They still refused to do anything.

Finally I went up before a judge and I was put on $10,000 bail. From there I was sent to the Women's House of Detention. After gettin inside, I immediately asked for medical attention, because my wrists were red and swollen from the handcuffs being too tight. I also told them that I was six months pregnant and needed medical attention. They told me to wait until the next day. I never received any type of help since the time I went in. I was put in isolation for a few days and became very sick. Not only was I not receiving any medication, but the roach infested food was not fit for a dog. The pigs had a special diet for all Panthers held in their pen. A food strike was started by Afeni Shakur, Sharon Williams, and Joan Bird. This is when they started separating all the Panthers arrested so that they wouldn't be together. I was placed on a different floor from them. This did not stop any of us from functioning within the pigs' pen. The rest of the girls got up petitions against the food, and I got up a petition for black books to be put in the library, so that the girls who were being held in jail could have some knowledge of their people and heritage, since the majority of the people in the jails were black. The only books they had in their libraries were Fairy Tales.

All the brothers who were arrested are being treated like animals. They were placed in Manhattan, Bronx, Queens and Rikers Island jails. All of them were under 24 hour security (isolation) since the time they got arrested. They couldn't receive any telephone calls, visits, or letters, and they slept on beds with no sheets or anything. Our lawyers are trying to bring up a case against the way we have been and are being treated.

The baby of one of the brothers held captive (Curtis) died.

The people are supporting the Black Panther Party whole heartedly. These are people from the community who know our program and who dig the Party. These are people we've worked with in the community, and who came to us for help whenever they were in need. The idea of the people backing up the Black Panther Party is blowing the pigs' minds. Not only that, but, they are having a hell of a time trying to put us away for good, after sweating their hides out for 3 years to destroy the Party. If they really had so much evidence to put us away, they would not call off our hearings for the fourth time already. The judges and the D.A.'s are working together. That is why the judges refuse to lower our bails, which are unconstitutional, and which are very high for those of us arrested.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE!
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD!

Roseland Bennett

BAIL MONEY

AND

LEGAL DEFENSE MONEY

NECESSARY NOW FOR

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

POLITICAL PRISONERS

SEND MONEY TO

B.P.P. NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

3106 SHATTUCK BERK.

PRISONERS

Panther leadership hit by sweeping FBI raids

Early on the morning of June 4, a city police car moved into position to close the intersection of Madison Street and Western Avenue on the West Side Chicago slum. A block away a car belonging to the Chicago detail of the Federal Bureau of Investigation blocked another intersection.

To the sleepy-eyed early riser, it all may have seemed strange, but to anyone who had listened to the Chicago Police frequency for the previous 15 minutes, there would have been no mystery. The police dispatcher had said:

"The FBI has informed us they are going to raid the Black Panther headquarters on Maldson Street. They request that all Chicago police cars stay out of the area."

Twice scarred by rioting, the West Side is the heart of the poorest of Chicago's two largest black areas.

More FBI cars were moving in within moments, agents emerged and strapped on bulletproof vests, and attached white armbands to their left coatsleeves with the red lettering, U S. Department of Justice.

Some took positions on the roof of the building with machine guns and shotguns in hand. Others crouched in the street behind their parked vehicles.

After shouting through a bullhorn for 30 minutes for the occupants of the building to come out, Marlin Johnson, the agent in charge, ordered the doors sledgehammered open and agents rushed inside.

The eight occupants within were led away quietly, a mimeograph machine was confiscated as was some cash and checks and a large quantity of literature.

But the announced purpose of the search, a Federal fugitive by the name of George Sams, was not found in the building. Later, the eight arrested in the building were freed.

Such raids - similar ones have occurred in Denver, Washington and Salt Lake City-have become almost routine within the past two months.

Federal officials are seeking Sams and other fugitives in connection with the murder of a Panther in Connecticut. In pursuit, FBI agents have raided Panther headquarters across the country.

But the Panthers have charged that the manhunt is a small part of the reason for the raids, that "fascist police state tactics" are being used to harass and crush the organization.

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Party, charged in a press conference at the Berkeley headquarters of the organization recently that the raids were an attempt "to destroy...the Black Panther Party leadership.

A Justice Department official said there is no national plan by the Department regarding raids on Panther offices.

The reason for conducting the raids at early morning hours is to avoid attracting crowds that might turn into riots, the Department official said. "Most of their offices are right in the middle of the black communities", he said.

The Black Panther Party has long claimed its leadership has been harassed by the police. Two of the Party's leaders, Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, are in jail and exile respectively.

In the past year, the Party's membership and its notoriety have spread across the country in 40 chapters with a membership estimated variously between 1200 and 5000.

The Party's organizing activities have led to increasingly abrasive confrontations between the Panthers and police in city after city.

Since the end of last year, scores of Panthers have been arrested in chapters throughout the country on charges ranging from possession of concealed weapons to arson and armed robbery.

The first big arrest of the year occurred in New York on April 2 when 21 Black Panthers were indicted on charges of conspiracy to blow up several public buildings and department stores.

Six weeks later, in a case police claimed was "directly linked" to the alleged bombing conspiracy, eight Panthers were arrested in New Haven, Conn., and charged with the murder of Alex Rackley, 24, a New York Panther.

Searching for other suspects in the New Haven murder, in which police say Rackley was also tortured, Federal agents carried out a succession of raids in at least four cities in the next several weeks. They were:

The June 4 raid in Chicago where the FBI arrested eight persons, and confiscated funds used in the Panther breakfast program for school children along with thousands of pieces of Panther literature.

A raid in Washington where the search for Sams led the FBI on June 6 to the apartment of Mrs. Jean Hughes, 41111 Southern Ave., across the District line in Prince George's County. She was charged with possessing a stolen rifle.

In Salt Lake City, where FBI agents charged Lonnie McLucas, 23, of New Haven, with being a fugitive from justice in the Rackley slaying. He was held on $100,000 bail.

In Denver, where Rory Hithe, 18, and Landon Robert Williams, 25, were charged with unlawful flight to avoid prosecution in the Rackley case and held on bonds of $200,000 each.

The Black Panthers have also run afoul of local law agencies in such widely separated locations as Eugene, Oregon, Indianapolis and Sacramento.

In the Indianapolis case, police raided the Panther office on the night of June 7 in the midst of a disturbance involving some 400 blacks. Of the 30 persons arrested, half were Panthers.

Eight days later in Sacramento, the Panther offices were stormed by police during a shootout near Panther headquarters. The Mayor Richard Marriott, who made a personal inspection of the Panther office, later said he was "shocked and horrified" at the evidence of bullet holes, broken typewriters and damaged food, the results of the police raid.

Panther national Chief of Staff David Hilliard, has charged Federal and local police with deliberately storming the organization's offices across the country under the guise of searching for suspects in crimes or reacting to local disorders.

"We see the rapid growth of the Party and the respect we are beginning to gain in both the black and some white communities as the basis of this constant harassment", Hilliard said. "The pigs have moved in such a brazen, chauvinistic fashion that people are beginning to relate to the Panthers".

While police activity might be gaining some sympathy for the Panthers, it has also nearly stripped several of the organization's chapters of their leadership. In addition, continued charges of crimes by Panthers have served to alarm more moderate elements of black and white activists.

Gerald Lefcourt, New York attorney for the Black Panther Party, said in a recent interview:

"The only thing the Panthers are worried about now is survival. They are perfectly sure that the government is out to wipe them out in a year.

"For the Panthers," Lefcourt continued, there is pure fascism today - illegal searches, phony charges, high bails, massive arrests - it's here for the Panthers."

But, to the law enforcement officials, such as New York County Assistant District Attorney Joseph A. Phillips, the Panthers represent "distorted and twisted minds bent upon acts of terrorism".

The notoriety, the legal charges, the raids and the controversy all center on an organization that is barely three years old.

Formed in 1966 after a series of conflicts between youths and Oakland, Calif., police, the Panthers first came to wider national attention after their founder, Huey P. Newton, was charged with murdering an Oakland policeman.

Since then, the Panthers and police have been in repeated clashes. It was the Panthers who coined and circulated the term "pigs" to refer to policemen.

As the group's national prominence grew, it attracted to its ranks author, Eldridge Cleaver. It also attracted many young urban street youths. The Panthers began achieving a reputation as a violent organization last year when several West Coast members were arrested in armed robbery cases.

To correct its image, the Panthers purged 40 of its Oakland members and possibly three times that many nationwide.

The organization also created a breakfast program for school children in many of the large cities.

The program has been extremely popular in most of the cities in which it has been tried, leading the Panthers to charge that one of the reasons for their "harassment" is the political success of the breakfast program.

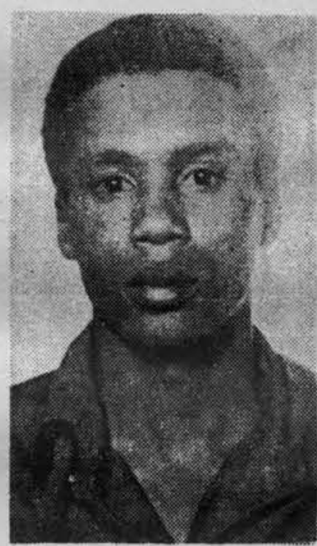
In the face of its present legal problems, the Panther organization has gone on the counterattack with two devices.

It has formed a national lawyers council to co-ordinate Panther legal defenses nationwide. Attorneys William M. Kunstler of New York and Charles Garry of San Francisco head the council.

The Panthers have also called for a "national conference" to develop a "United Front Against Fascism". The conference is scheduled to be held in Oakland, beginning on July 18.

The primary objective of the conference, the Panthers say, is to bring together radical, leftist and liberal groups and individuals - white and black - to form a new coalition against "political oppression."

Reprinted from Washington Post


LANDON R. WILLIAMS


RORY B. HITHE


FRANCIS CARTER


WARREN KIMBRO


PEGGY HUDGINS


MAUDE FRANCIS


JEANNIE WILSON




GEORGE EDWARDS


ROSE SMITH

ERICKA HUGGINS

WHAT IS THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM ?

Interview With Bobby Seale By Liberation News Service

CHAIRMAN: The National Conference for a United Front Against Fascism which will be in Oakland, California on July 18, 19, and 20, is to bring in all strata of society, to actually in fact develop a United Front Against Fascism. People and representatives of organizations across the country, all progressives and progressive type organizations, all churches and church representatives of all different faiths and religions, all workers especially, to be invited from different unions, etc., will be invited here to attend the conference. Individuals and representatives of different types of organizations around the nation--be they liberal, semi-liberal, be they even, say, a black policeman's association -- if they stand firmly with the United Front Against Fascism, they've been invited here.

This Conference is not called just to save the Black Panther Party. It's called so that we can save the people, and save the people's organizations. Because if the pig power structure is allowed to get away with what they are trying to do to the Black Panther Party, they'll be allowed to do the same to any organization, any union, any church, any group of people who are using their basic democratic rights as a weapon against oppression.

LNS: Do you expect the United Front to continue as a political organization after this conference?

CHAIRMAN: The conference is being called not just as a debating society. It's to have some concrete action. It is not being called to debate ideology, or to struggle with ideology because of people's different ideas of what they believe in. It is being called to put forth a concrete program of cooperation. Presently in New York there is a branch of the National Committee to Combat Fascism. Here we have one, in Los Angeles we have one, and we also put one together in Chicago. These committees will continue to exist and out of those many hundreds who will attend the conference we hope to form, many many committees to combat fascism scattered throughout their local areas.

Concrete cooperation includes 1) having community control of police groups with people working for community control of police in their own areas. Community control of police is a major action program that can involve the masses of people in the United States. 2) We are going to be dealing with all the political prisoners in the country, not only Huey P. Newton and the Connecticut Panther leadership and the New York 21, etc. We're talking about dealing with political prisoners throughout the nation. 3) We are going to talk about how to take a stand against law-and-order politicians in the nation who are demagogues and liars. 4) We're going to be setting up something constructive to understand the court system and how it relates to the fascistization of the country. 5) We're going to be dealing with black and white workers vs. fascism, with religion vs. fascism. Students, education, teachers, professionals, etc. vs. fascism: we're going to be dealing with all these different areas at the conference, and out of here we hope to have at least one major constructive thing: that is the committees established throughout the nation to combat fascism in their local areas at the conference, and out of here we hope to have at least one major and to relate to a national United Front.



LNS: Do you foresee a decentralized thing? There's not going to be any big anti-fascist political party in the United States which you can foresee?

CHAIRMAN: There've been statements made that the Black Panther Party was supposed to change its name in favor of this United Front. This is not true at all. Someone put it out that an American Liberation Front was going to be formed. If the United Front Against Fascism people in the future wanted to develop some kind of political party or apparatus called the American Liberation Front, the Black Panther Party would not be opposed to the representatives who wanted to do this. But at this conference, we're not trying to set that up. What we're trying to do is call the people together and see to it that we really begin to establish a United Front where we can actually combat fascism.

LNS: Can you elaborate a little bit on how you go about telling the white workers about fascism? After all, a lot of them seem to think it's in their interest. How do you talk to them?

CHAIRMAN: One of the things that's going to have to be done is to work with the churches. A lot of these people as well as a lot of black people are in the churches. When we say "religion vs. fascism", the churches are going to have to really begin to tell the people exactly what is happening and exactly what is going to have to happen. They can't wait until the last moment when all of a sudden the churches themselves are attacked by the fascist regime like Franklin's church was attacked in Detroit. (The cops broke up a Black Nationalist meeting by shooting into the church. Ed) and even Father Neil's church here in Oakland was attacked when the cops stormed into the church supposedly to arrest someone.

We're not asking people to like our ideology, we're telling people that they themselves are subjected to this fascist regime and they cannot let what happened in Germany happen here; they cannot let what happened in Italy happen here. In fact, they have to begin to understand that the old terroristic organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion, back in the 30's, that the generation of nowadays doesn't even remember are in the form now of the massive police departments across the nation. They've just replaced the Ku Klux Klan, although there are still some of these semi-fascist organizations around such as the Minutemen.

But the major threat is that in every major city, whenever there are masses of people who are beginning to use their democratic rights righteously to oppose the oppressive system, in these places police departments have been doubled, tripled and quadrupled.

This is very important for people to begin to understand. They have to understand that they can't wait and identify fascism some place in history or in another country 3 or 4 thousand miles away. The fact is that it's right here under their very noses in new garments and they have to identify it and recognize it for what it is. This fascism has shown its face here overtly in the last few months, especially since the Democratic Convention, in all the attacks that have gone down against the Black Panther Party and against many student organizations and groups.

LNS: Do you think there's any danger when you call for a United Front that the revolutionary principles of the Panther Party are going to get watered down?

CHAIRMAN: The Black Panther Party is not trying to project its principles and its ideology in this conference...We're talking about a United Front Against Fascism. Those who stand against fascism are the people we consider to be progressive people, you see.

When we say community control of police we're talking about any kind of political prisoner whether he's black, brown, blue, green or yellow. We're not talking about only how the courts affect black people here. We're talking about the Mexican American brothers too, and the Puerto Rican brothers and white people and poor white people. We're not even going to be talking about the Party's ideology. We're going to be talking about constructive action against the fascism which has developed in the police state here in America.

LNS: Can the ballot be used against fascism? Can you vote the fascists out of power?

CHAIRMAN: Community control of police itself is in fact directed to the ballot. The community control of police concept is related to a petition that is to be circulated in every city. You get a percentage of the voters in that city to sign the petition, thereby it automatically goes on the ballot where the masses of the people themselves can in fact vote to decentralize all police departments.

Naturally electoral politics is going to be affected by the conference, because the conference is going to deal with whether or not it's going to support politicians who do not stand up against fascism. This will be machinery all across the country to let the politicians know that we will not vote for you and will in fact work for that politician who works for community control of police and who stands for the end of fascism and the other points that come out of the conference.

PANTHERS IN PRINT

A ten year old boy stopped us the other day at the corner of Main Street and Mamaroneck Avenue and asked us to buy a copy of "The Black Panther", weekly publication of the Panthers

He told us that the White plains chapter - whose membership reportedly varies from 10 to 30 members - refunds him a nickel on every issue he sells for 25 cents. We gave him a quarter and took a copy home, reading of "rampant fascism" American and some very unflattering things about the nations police.

Also mentioned in the June 14 issue is a free hot breakfast program the Panthers claim to have set up in a Los Angeles church. Interesting, because the local chapter is reportedly trying to do the same thing.

A flyer recently circulated among members here appeals "to everyone in and around the vicinity of White Plains, to people who live and work in the black communities, to work with us to satisfy the pressing needs of black people by donating to the "Free Breakfast for School Children Program."

The chapter, we hear, has gotten in touch with several churches in the city but so far has been unable to find a locaton. They ask for donations of food, eating utensils and for volunteers to prepare and serve the breakfasts.

Jimmy, the Panther newsboy says that he sells nine or ten copies a day (arriving at about 5 p.m., with his eight-year old brother who guards the stack while he goes out on the sidewalk) and boasts of having once sold 14.

Some of the older workers have been appearing in the afternoon. Three were selling the paper yesterday, each claiming to have sold between 30 and 50 issues. Tommy, 18, stood in front of a department store.

"No man, nobody's given us any trouble", Tommy said, except for "an old lady" who asked the police to chase them away. The law permits the sale of newspapers and milk on the street without the vendor first obtaining a peddler's permit.

Submitted by White Plains' reporter Dispatch

Of Judges, Juries And Pigs

Why does a Detroit cop get acquitted of the murder of a black youth at the "Algiers Motel," when there is absolutely no doubt that he shot the unarmed young man without provocation?

First and foremost, of course, because he is a cop — a white cop in a capitalist white supremacist society, and the youth was black, poor, a member of an oppressed nationality, whose brothers and sisters were even then engaged in a local uprising.

But the manner of the cop's acquittal gives us an instructive lesson in the ways of courts, judges and juries and how they are used against the poor and oppressed.

First, it was an all-white jury in the all-white town of Mason, Michigan that acquitted Ronald August, the accused policeman. Mason is 80 miles from Detroit, the scene of the crime. It was a judge who granted the "change of venue" to this town in the first place.

And second, the judge presiding at the Mason trial instructed the jury members that they had to find August guilty of murder in the first degree — or else not guilty at all, even though both defense and prosecution counsels had asked for a choice of first degree murder, second degree, manslaughter and not guilty.

The jury acquitted August after three hours and the Detroit Free Press said this was to be expected after the judge's charge to the jury.

It was very obvious what the judge was doing in this particular case. But judges always control, intimidate and overawe juries, both legally and extralegally. The jury is not an independent body of "peers" in the best of circumstances (and only a twelve-man lynch-mob in the worst), but actually an arm of the courts and the state, disguised as a freely acting cross-section of the citizenry.

Feelings were so strong in Detroit over the Algiers Motel incident, and the crime was so well known because of John Hersey's book, that the policeman got a "change of venue" to the all-white town 80 miles away.

Now black Huey Newton is accused of killing a white cop. But the rulers of Oakland, California are not going to give him a "change of venue" to be tried in an all-black court in some black community 80 miles from Oakland. This is not only because there is no such all-black court in the United States, but because the black people are part of the oppressed masses and are in fact super-oppressed. And the capitalist state is determined to keep them that way and the courts, being part of the state, are organized with that in mind.

As for reforming the jury system, or making the ruling class live up to its promise of "trial by your peers," there are always some few adjustments that can be made within the system. But the fact remains that while the capitalist state exists, the jury is always packed, just as the judge is always prejudiced against the oppressed. In class society it is the rich who judge the poor, the bosses who judge the workers, the well-fed who judge the hungry, and the white who judge the black.

STOP FASCISM



Fascism is the power of finance capital itself---the greedy businessman, the demagogic politician (one who leads the people by appealing to prejudices and passions), and the racist pig cop. Each of which carries out the oppression and exploitation of the working class people in the guise of democracy.

The Black Panther Party, the vanguard party, finds it our duty to educate the poor and oppressed people to the form that this capitalistic, racist system is taking--- FASCISM. Cold-blooded fascism is exemplified in the assassination of Malxolm X, the imprisonment of Huey P. Newton for his political beliefs, the assassination of Martin Luther King, the occupation of Wilmington, Delaware for one year after the death of King, the 14,000 troops at the Chicago Democratic Convention, the necessity for the exile of Eldridge Cleaver, the national repression of the Black Panther Party, the attack on the Republic of New Africa's Convention, the brutal attack on the people of Berkeley by 7,000 national guardsmen, and the repression of all progressive elements that are struggling to wrest the power out of the hands of the oppressor and return it to the people.

We, the masses of people, must unite around this common enemy of fascism to regain the power of the people. We, as a people, have been stripped of our power as a result of oppression and exploitation. Before we can regain that power and begin to control our own destinies this system must suffer a revolutionary change for the good of all the people.

"Power concedes nothing without demand." Without our demand to neutralize or suppress the power of this system, we will in turn suffer defeat under fascism and lose our move for liberation to return the power to the people.

Under fascism we will not determine our destinies, we will not control the means of production, and as a result we can have no power. We shall regress to the stage of slavery unless we begin to face the situation of the people of America objectively and realize the fact that the American people are confused, misinformed, exploited, and oppressed. We must begin to realize that a UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM must be formed against a system so foul as to try to destroy a WORLD LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE. A system so foul that it refuses to acknowledge the will of the the people to end exploitation and oppression of ourselves.

Let us examine America's position on the war in Vietnam. America has only gone to the peace table because she has obviously lost the war and is now willing to negotiate a settlement with the North. As a result of the loss of the war the troops will be brought home; and what will ensue is a game of red-baiting, from which will come blatant fascism on an intensified scale to repress communists, Students for a Democratic Society, Black Panthers, Black Nationalists and all progressive elements throughout the country as exemplified by Senator McClellan's House on Un-American Activities Committee in trying to destroy the Panther Party and SDS. The purpose of the red-baiting will be to attach the blame of the loss of the war on the people's movement.

The Black Panther Party is a people's Party to establish revolutionary political power for the people. "Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the People's interest, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected-- that is what being responsible to the people means." Because we hold ourselves responsible to the people, we will organize the people to destroy fascism, the power of the ruling class, for everlasting peace and freedom. Without a UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM the status quo will be maintained and the continued enslavement of the oppressed people of the world.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE HUEY
Eugene Jones
Lieutenant of Information
Boston Chapter
Black Panther Party

BLACK UNITED FRONT ENDS ROBBERY

Members of the Black United Front, in Kansas City stopped the rape and robbery of 200 young black sisters. The incident was one of the largest con-games run in the city. Rat Ruggles set up this deceptive plan in order to "give the black girls a chance they would not have otherwise".

Ruggles charged each young sister participating in the beauty contest $5.00 registration fee. This fee also included, modeling classes from the Linda Valentine School of modeling. This school was owned, and operated, and founded by Ruggles himself. Ruggles also charged the sisters, $4.98 for their pictures, that were taken (in the sisters bedroom at night) for posters. This fascist had his game uptight. Collecting $10.000 from all of these 200 sisters was quite a haul. Something like $2,000.00.

The contest was to be held at the Ivanhoe Temple, 32 and Park. The tickets were $3.00 per person. The sisters were to win the title of Miss Kansas City, also a scholarship to another modeling school. The man used the money to his discretion and none of the things he promised the sisters materialized.

Members of the newly founded black coalition came to the Panthers and ran down the way this robber had his vicious con-game set up. And how he was molesting these young sisters. The Panthers and other brothers worked out a system by which this man would be dealt with. They first asked the dude to stop the fashion show and return the money. He would not. So the brothers went to the beauty contest that Sunday and rapped to the people that were present and they responded by jumping on the stage and literally beating his butt. The people took him outside and continued to vent their frustration on Ruggles.

The pigs came on the set, and subjectively beat Brother Merle Brown. In the series of events which followed three brothers of the coalition were busted and two pigs were sent away oinking in pain.

This criminal Ruggles, who was arrested and in the tradition of pig justice, immediately released, filed charges against four brothers for robbery, precisely the game he was trying to get away with. Among the four brothers charged with robbery was Brother Pete O'Neal, Deputy Chairman. Ruggles then fled the city fearing his life, realizing that the spirit of the people would have been his executioner. The charges were dropped, to the sorrow of the fascist pigs who would have loved to have kept those brothers exiled from the people.

There will be, in the future a strong guard against the robbery of the black community by demagogic politicians. There is a clear indication that the people will help the Panthers and other members of the Black United Front guard against this type of thing. Together, the voice of the people is saying "We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our black community".

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
END ROBBERY IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY
Sister Andre Weatherby
Communication Secretary
Kansas City Chapter

UNITED FRONT



Left to Right: Sam Napier, Don Cox David Hilliard , Geronimo, Ray Masai Hewitt and John Clarke

By MARGRIT PITTMAN

Six young black men came into our New York office, Black Panthers from the West Coast, eager to talk about the "United Front against Fascism in America," they are trying to organize. A four-day conference in Oakland is scheduled for that purpose, July 18-21. Its main projected action is to seek community control of the police.

All six are leading members of the Black Panther Party, who devote their full time to "the revolution." Dave Hilliard, Black Panther Chief of Staff from Oakland, joined the party "about two months after it was founded in 1966, and I've been busy ever since."

In recent months, a period of stepped-up police attacks, the Panthers have increasingly felt the need for alliances with other groups. "We hope that the conference will unite all radical and liberal elements," said Ray "Masai" Hewitt, a Deputy Minister of Information from Southern California.

No New York Panthers were among the six. "That's because they are in jail," Hilliard explained. "Twenty-one of our brothers, the whole New York leadership. The pigs are trying to cut off the head of our organization. We now have to rebuild."

The Panthers have been singled out by police all across the country for special brutality and harassment. This prompted the current initiative to try and stem police brutality.

"We want to embrace all progressive elements," I was told, "all national group minorities. We appeal to every liberal and progressive."

They are studying Georgi Dimitrov's essays and speeches on the United Front against Fascism in the early 1930's and quote them liberally to make their points.

The original conference call had only a few non-Panther sponsors, among them Tom Hayden, formerly of SDS; Dr. Philip Shapiro, a Bay Area white psychiatrist and prominent member of the Medical Committee to Defend Human Rights; Dr. Carlton Goodlett, publisher of the Sun Reporter, the Bay Area's most important black weekly, and attorneys Charles R. Garry and William Kunstler. The latter two have long been active in the defense of frame-up victims. Garry is the attorney for Huey Newton.

In mid-June, the Panthers were mailing 2,000 invitations to various organizations and had already obtained support from an interesting list of militant ghetto youth.

Among them were the Young Lords of Chicago, a group of Puerto Rican youths; Los Siesta de la Raza, Latinos from San Francisco's Mission District; Young Patriots, a Chicago white working-class grouping composed mostly of refugees from Appalachia, and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America.

"We are working to get unions and unionists," Hilliard said. "We have promises of some of the black caucuses in the unions to come. We want all the workers and peasants to be there."

While the rhetoric is revolutionary, the projected content of the conference is aimed at rolling back reaction. It is to make the stated content of American democracy available to the ghettos, where it has never been enjoyed.

The primary aim of the conference, to arouse national interest in community control of the police forces, is not an entirely new notion. Last year, an effort was made in Oakland to put an amendment to the City Charter on the ballot for that purpose. Signatures to a petition were collected jointly by the Peace and Freedom Party and the Black Panthers. "We didn't start early enough," Hilliard says, "but within five days we got 20,000 signatures in the East and West Oakland ghettos."

The Panthers want establishment of separate police departments in a city's major communities. These would be autonomous, though they could use common facilities. Each department would be administered by a full-time police commissioner selected by a Neighborhood Police Control Council. These councils would be elected by the neighborhood and would have the power to discipline officers for breaches of policy or violation of law. The council would be empowered to recall commissioners when no longer responsive to the community and the community in turn could recall council members. Finally, all police officers would be required to live in the community which employs them.

Other issues to be raised at the conference are amnesty for all political prisoners and the right to self-defense. The Panthers also hope to get agreement that political support will be given only to candidates supporting the conference's chief demands.

This is an important national initiative for the all-black Panther organization who originally stuck to community self-help activities in the ghettos.

The Panthers hope that the July conference will result in another, larger gathering later this year so that, in the words of one of our visitors, it can unite "all forces that are anti-fascist but not anti-communist."

UFAF LABOR COMMITTEE

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

On May 1, 1933, Adolf Hitler gathered labor leaders from all over Germany to participate in a May Day celebration. No expense was spared. The city was festive and gay. It rang with traditional speeches of labor solidarity.

On May 2, 1933, the German labor movement had been smashed. All the celebrants of the day before were in jail. The offices and assets of every local were seized. All contracts were declared null and void. Hitler then organized his own trade unions which were to guarantee a docile work force for the Fascist state. Low wages, intolerable working conditions and strict obedience to the Fascist state were the lot of working men and women for more than a decade.

The most reactionary sections of monopoly in the United States are boldly implementing a program to bring Fascism to this country. The state apparatus: courts, police, the armed forces, the giant government bureaucracy have combined to destroy the constitutionally guaranteed rights of our people. The rights of Third World People, which have never been fully recognized, are subject to the sharpest attack. Various right wing, and often explicitly pro-Nazi organizations are attempting to utilize 300 years of racism in this country to split the American people. They intend to prevent us from uniting to solve the many problems we face. The recent Wallace campaign is a clear example of this process.

No American should forget the large number of American businessmen who wanted the United States to intervene on the side of Hitler in World War II. These were the same men who fought most vigorously the gains of the CIO and the unemployed during the New Deal.

Fascism always depends on the division of working people along racial lines. German Fascism depended primarily on the oppression and extermination of the Jewish people. American Fascism is counting on its ability to sell the oppression and extermination of Blacks, Browns, and other minorities. But as the history of Germany shows, Fascism only lulls the people with racism to mask its program of terroristic rule and increased exploitation of all people.

It is no accident that the most racist, most anti-labor, most anti-student businessmen and members of Congress are also the champions of increased military aggression abroad. These are the people most likely to leade the world into WW III. If we fail to stop the Fascist offensive we shall also fail to stop nuclear war.

No one group has the strength to oppose Fascism. If we allow the rights of our brothers, black or white, to be trampled without protest, we can expect that we too will be isolated and stripped of our rights.

A national conference for a UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM in America will be held in Oakland on July 18, 19 and 20. We invite you to participate without prior commitment.

We ask that this conference be placed on the agenda of the meetings of your local between now and July 17, 1969. If you wish we will send representatives to your meetings to discuss the matter.

Solidarity is not old fashioned -- it is the hope of the future. THE BEST GUARANTEE AGAINST FASCISM IS A POWERFUL, AGGRESSIVE AND VIGILANT LABOR MOVEMENT.

UNITE AGAINST FASCISM!

Kenny Horsten
Member UAW #1364

Blaine Wishart
Member Teamsters Local

John Feit
Member Butcher Workmen #203



Excesses in FBI Wire Tapping

Where does national security begin, so far as Federal Bureau of Investigation wire-tapping and bugging is concerned?

With a Nobel peace prize winner, the assassinated Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.? With a former heavyweight champion, Muhammad Ali, formerly Cassius Clay? With the leader of the Black Muslims, Elijah Muhammad? With a pro football star, Joe Namath? With Tom Hayden, founder of the Students for a Democratic Society? With Jerry Rubin, the Yippie leader? With Bobby Seale, a leader in the Black Panthers? With David T. Dellinger and Reynard C. Davis of the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam?

Except for Namath what they have in common is that the Justice Department has been forced to admit in court that it tapped their phone conversations, violating both court orders and a presidential directive.

The only legitimate use of wiretapping allowed under President Johnson's executive order issued June 30, 1965, is in national security investigations. The order also provides that no wiretapping "shall be undertaken or continued without first obtaining the approval of the attorney general."

Former Atty. Gen. Ramsay Clark, who served from Oct. 1, 1966 to last Jan. 20, said that while he headed the Justice Department he had never given the FBI (J. Edgar Hoover, director) authorization to tap or bug Dr. King or Elijah Muhammad.

But while the former attorney general disapproves, the current one, John N. Mitchell, approves.

A statement filed by Mitchell in U.S. District Court in Chicago defended tapping the phones of five persons facing federal antiriot charges for disturbances at the Democratic National Convention. They are Hayden, Rubin, Seale, Dellinger and Davis.

This document claims the unrestricted right of the FBI to extend its immunity for national security eavesdropping into black nationalist, campus militant and antiwar groups. The federal memorandum said wiretapping against the five political activists was "deemed necessary to protect the nation from attempts of domestic organizations to use unlawful means to attack and subvert the existing structure of government."

Where will all this end? Will the end of the line be a tap on anybody's telephone? Football star Namath has not been charged with anything. But Newsweek reports the FBI tapped the pay telephone in his New York restaurant. It prints excerpts of conversations that could only have been overheard by the tappers. Joe Namath a security risk? Only to other grid teams. Were the agents searching for subversives among all those gamblers? Dr. King a security risk? Only to people who fear the true spirit of democracy.



Back Room at the Record Shop

BIG BROTHER IS LISTENING TO EVERYBODY

(FRED News Service, June 18)

Electronic eavesdropping on average citizens as well as radicals is expanding rapidly under the U.S. government's rush towards a police state. The Justice Department was forced to reveal its position in U S. District Court Friday, June 13 in response to demands by the Conspiracy that all information collected through wire tapping be shown to their defense attorneys as prescribed by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The statement from the Justice Department contended that the government does not have to secure court approval before installing electronic surveillance devices against organizations it suspects of trying to "foment violent disorders" across the nation. This is the category in which they place the Conspiracy 8 under federal indictment for crossing state lines to incite a riot during the Democratic National Convention.

The Justice Department claimed Presidential authority, delegated to the attorney general, to use wire tapping in foreign intelligence gathering and monitoring of conversations of domestic organizations suspected of planning to use unlawful means to overthrow or subvert the government. The criteria used to determine which domestic organizations endanger the national security have been very broad, even including figures like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In fact the FBI has even been tapping the phones of members of Congress in its maintenance of "internal security."

U.S. officials are working very hard to protect this domestic spy apparatus from public scrutiny. U.S. Attorney Thomas Foren said Friday that some of the wire tap records would be turned over to the Conspiracy's lawyers but other portions would not be revealed. The Justice Department has given these conversations to U.S. District Court Judge Julius Hoffman to read over secretly before he concurs with its decision to withhold the information.

Trying to imitate the big boys, Cook County State's attorney Edward Hanrahan had his wrist slapped by the Senate judiciary committee. Downstate Republican legislators dislike his wire tap bill which proposed that a state's attorney or a peace officer could listen in on a conversation with the consent of only one party. State Sen William Horsley (R-Springfield) said that under this "a part-time deputy sheriff could listen in on a conversation between two people involved in a divorce case." Hanrahan agreed to make it mandatory that wiretapping authorization be given only in cases of suspected "criminal" activity and decided that only the state's attorney would be able to authorize the eavesdropping. This version of the bill was approved by the Senate. The bill was earlier approved by the house without the amendments so it must be sent to a conference committee before going to the governor. The wire tap bill is seen as a test of the Supreme Court's recent ruling that both parties must approve the electronic eavesdropping on their conversation. Hanrahan should not feel too badly about having to insert the restrictions in his bill. The FBI can give him their wire tap information on anyone this bill prevents him from snooping on directly.

INSIDE FASCIST AMERICA

In pig sty America there are the die-hards. What does die-hard mean? "Hard" means to be inflexible to the will of the people, while "die" means to be dead set against the people's progress of today. These fools, the Rockefellers, the Lindsays, the chiefs of pigs across racist America are such people that make up the league or category called the die-hards. To make them serve the people is no easy matter.

It is very clear in the State of New York that these fools have turned their asses to the people. The only movement that they endorse and have led successfully is the "bowel movement." One which allows them to sh-t all over humanity, one which led them to believe that the people of this country are satisfied with the waste (crumbs) that they pour into our communities. The shame, the filth and the decadence of real America here and everywhere sheds light on the fact that these avaricious businessmen, demagogic politicians and their crazy henchmen, the gestapo pig stormtroopers are responsible for turning our communities into shambles infested with lackey, sell-out uncle sam, red white and blue niggers.

These die-hards and their sheltered running dogs have plundered this country into a catastrophe. Because of the effectiveness of the political campaign set forth by the Black Panther Party at exposing these die-hards for what they really are, the pig power structure has advanced an open campaign to wipe out the people's Vanguard through murder, conspiracy, infiltration by nigger kook pigs and senate investigations to mislead the masses.

Because the people of this country are becoming more and more aware of the corruptness of this system, these crazy fool die-hards are making their last attempt to stop the people's struggle. And because the people are becoming constantly aware of the necessity to take up the gun to deal with these mad-dog nihilists, the pigs of the power structure have found it necessary to heighten their war against the people in this country to out and out fascism.

There are not longer any questions in the minds of the Black Panther Party rank and file about the intention of the die-hard clique. We have seen the examples of other imperialist countries and how fascism moved in and wiped out millions upon millions of people. U.S. capitalism, its puppets and all their mad-dogs have issued orders to wage an open attack on all the so-called subversives, but in particular the Black Panther Party.

These fascist sandmen want to keep the people unaware and asleep so they can move their program in unnoticed. They want the masses to stay anti-political or politically immature. They want the masses to believe the brutal acts against the true patriots (revolutionaries) are in the interest of the people. So they mame and kill in the name of "law and order". They want the masses to endorse all their genocidal wars against other peoples thousands of miles away, they call the U.S. invasion a move to protect so-called U.S. democracy (by murdering the Vietnamese people?)

People are awakening. Still many are confused, not knowing who the real enemy is. They realize that we are aware of their scheme and these fools understand that the Black Panther Party has the knowledge and leadership to wage a political campaign that will expose them and this campaign has educated so many people that they (the die-hards) cannot sit comfortably any longer. They are truly "lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own foot."

We say this...that the die-hards have many schemes to stop the oppressed masses of racist Babylon America, many schemes and much technology. But the spirit of the people is greater than the of the people sheds light on the outcome, which will not be the liquidation of the Black Panther Party and progress, by die-hardism, but the total liquidation of die-hardism by the progress of the people's struggle. As for our policy on the attacks by the pig die-hard fascist clique, "We are the advocates of the abolition of War. We do not want War, but War can only be abolished through War, and in order to get rid of the Gun, it is necessary to take up the Gun. We will win!

ALL POWER TOTHE
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
FREE HUEY!
FREE THE NEW YORK 21!
DOWN WITH DIE-HARDISM!
Brother Jymbo
Black Panther Party
Brooklyn, New York

SOMEWHER
THIRD WOR



Eldridge Cleaver., Minis
Black Panthe

I want to take this opportunity to say hello to Brother Huey P. Newtor Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, the leader of the Black Panther Party and the man who has done more, who has done most, who has sacrificed most to elevate the struggle, the revolutionary struggle in Babylon. It has been a long time since I've been able to say hello to Huey. Huey's in the same prison that I was in once. I know what he's going through being confronted by those fiendish pigs, those hogs that they call prison guards. And I don't know what can I say to Huey? Can I say Huey what's happening? Can I say how are you Huey? All I can say is Power to the People Huey. I understand. I know that you understand. And right on. All Power to the People.

I want to take this opportunity to send a personal and a warm greeting particularly to my comrades in the Black Panther Party, to the brothers and sisters in the Black Panther Party, but also just as warmly and very personally, I want to send this message to all of my friends in Babylon. I want you to know that I'm reunited with Kathleen. It's very beautiful to be with her again. It's also very beautiful to know that such a thing could happen - that we do have the power to do some things. And as far as I'm concerned, it was not possible because of me, it was not possible because of Kathleen, but it was only possible because of the power of the people. It demonstrated that by working together, we do have the ability to resist the manipulations and the oppression and the games that all the combined pig agencies in Babylon have in their power to do. That, even though they are opposed to Kathleen and I being together, even though they want me in prison or dead, even though they want to be able to thwart anything oppressed people want to do, they tried their hardest to do this. But they failed. They have failed up to this point. So that, we know that they are not invincible. We know that they can be opposed successfully. And, we know that not only can they be opposed on these small levels, but they can be obliterated from the planet earth. We know that it is possible for us to overthrow the capitalist system, and to rid the earth of capitalism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism and also all forms of oppression entirely. We know that this is possible. Throughout history, mankind has struggled to create a better world, and we have been struggling in our time to create a better world. I think that we have been making progress. I think that our situation is not as terrible, and is not as hopeless - and they are up against the wall, all over the world. The entire world is rising up against them, and is liberating itself from them, and it is our job to continue our struggle no matter what the resistance from the pigs might be. I want everybody to know that I have not retired from the struggle, that, in fact, if everything could be said at this particular moment, you would know that I've been very much involved in the struggle every moment that I've been out of sight. And that the struggle goes on everywhere. And, that everywhere progress in the struggle is being made. But we have a tremendous amount of work to do. I'm sick in my heart over the news of all the repression that the pigs are bringing down on all sections of the movement in Babylon. But I have to say that it's not suprising, that this is something that we fully expect. We also fully expect it to get a thousand times worse than it is, because whether we know it or not, the pigs know that they are involved in a war - a class war. And they are waging this war at this particular time in order to preserve their racist, decadent, capitalistic, imperialistic and neo-colonialistic power structure. They want to do this, and they would rather be dead than to see this system destroyed. And our survival, our happiness, our freedom, our future, the future of our children depends upon their destruction. So that, we know, we talk as though we know we're involved in a war. And we act at sometimes as though we were involved in a war, but the pigs act at all times as though they are involved in a war. So, we have to become more fully aware and fully conscious of this. I'm very delighted to know that members of the Black Panther Party have become more conscious of the need for ideology or to formalize our ideology, I'm speaking particularly about a more conscious knowledge of Marxist-Leninist principles, because a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism is invaluable to oppressed peoples struggling against capitalism and imperialism because in the theories of Marxism-Leninism, we find a very accurate and very useful analysis of the capitalistic system, we find a clear picture of what's going on in the world and it makes us know who our friends are and who our enemies are, who our potential allies are, and how we have to move in order to destroy the system of our enemies. So, it's very good to see these developments. I'm also very glad to see that the Students for a Democratic Society is developing rapidly as it is. I agree that they had a perfect right to issue the resolution that they did issue. I've read the arguments on both sides as to the merits of the resolution, as to whether or not they had a right to comment on the struggle in the black community and I would not even care to dignify the reactionary arguments of the opposition by commenting or trying to refute the arguments. I don't think they're worthy of discussion. I think they were reactionary and I think that SDS is perfectly right in what it did. I'm very glad to see that it happened. I'm also very glad to see the struggle developing so rapidly in the Chicano community and the Puerto Rican community, the Chinese community, the Indian community, the red man's community. And also, I was very glad to hear news and to see pictures of the Young Patriots, the young white warriors who have related to the oppressed people, who have recognized themselves as being oppressed and are relating on a fundamental level. I'm very glad to see all these developments. I want to encourage those developments and say that we need to broaden our base in that regard. We need to have every community united in that regard--united itself first. The revolutionary forces within each community must become united. And, we must develop machinery that transcends each com-

...ERE IN THE ...ORLD



... Minister of Information, ...Panther Party

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munity, that connects the revolutionary forces in each community with each other so that they can all be focused on our common enemy. This is not impossible to do. I think that we have discovered the proper mechanism for doing this and that it is inevitable that this process will develop no matter what opposition or stumbling blocks are placed in our way by our enemies or by our well-meaning, but misguided friends.

The most important thing that I would like to talk to you about, the most important thing happening, is something that I can't talk to you about at this time, except to say that I believe that it is time for our struggle to go through a qualitative change. It's very clear that Babylon is stacking up with fugitives, that many of us are no longer able to function within the frame-work of Babylonian legality, and so, therefore, we have the choice of either ceasing to function or to continue functioning outside of the framework of Babylonian legality, within the frame work of that which is legitimized by the people and by the people's struggle. I want to make it very clear that this is the choice that I make. That even though the Babylonians look upon me as a fugitive, I want them to know that I am not the fugitive, that they are the fugitives. They are the fugitives from the justice of the people. And that they may think that the arm of the law is long, but I want them to know that the arm of the people is much longer than the arm of the pig. And there is no place they can hide. They cannot hide here in contemporary times. They will not be able to hide in history because we will seek them out dead or alive, and we will put them in their porper place now and also in history. Justice will be done and justice will be established in reality and also in the history books. That they are damned eternally by their actions. They are damned now by their present actions, and they will be damned historically by the evil that they're doing on the planet earth. So that there's no hope for them. They are the fugitives and we are pursuing them and we are going to capture them, and we're going to inflict justice upon them whether they like it or not.

We have always known that Richard Meathead Nixon, Bone nose Nixon is a dirty, treacherous motherfucker. Now he has really proven how dirty and treacherous he really is. For my own part, I didn't require any more proof because I wathced the man's career and his election to the Presidency of the United States, to me is a very accurate reflection of the crisis that the United States is in, because for a nation to be in such a condition as to elevate such a man to supreme power, it means that there's a low reading on the barometer in Babylon because at last the gutter has been scraped. The gutter, the political gutter of Babylon has been scraped in order to come up with a leader to secede Lyndon Baines Johnson. Lyndon Baines Johnson, everyone thought was the ultimate in scurviness in the political arena. But Lyndon Baines Johnson came off the bottom of the bucket whereas Richard Nixon represents that which leaked through the bottom of the bucket and merged with the mud. So the man comes from out of the mud of the political cesspool and I think it's very fitting that he is now President of the United States. He has now released his vicious mad dog J. Edgar Hoover to implement the fascistic repression that he has always wanted to implement publicly, that he has in fact been implementing privately all of his career so that all the shit is coming out in the open. That we finally have the gestapo functioning openly so that everyone can see them for what they really are and so that not only the people who have been suffering from the persecution of the gestapo have known about it, but now it's out in the open so that everyone can see it in operation. We have these pigs vamping on freedom fighters, and imposing not bail--it is no longer bail--now it is ransom. And everyone can see that $200,000 bonds, $100,000 bonds, are nothing but ransom. Because what the pigs are admitting by this ransom is that the system is so fragile, that they are so uptight, that they can no longer deal with the revolutionary forces, but they have to get the revolutionary forces out of the streets by any means necessary. So that it's good to know that. I hope that they don't think - well, I don't care what the pigs think - but it's very clear to me, having been in prison myself, that they will not stop anything by locking these brothers and sisters up. The only thing that they will do is increase their revolutionary fervor. They will create more revolutionaries because when these brothers and sisters go to prison, they will take the message there and Babylon has had it. Babylon has had it because there are too many angry men and angry women in Babylon for Babylon to survive. It's no longer a case of one or two bad apples in a barrel, but it's a barrel of good apples who know that they're not bad apples, who now realize that the pigs are the bad apples in the barrel and its time for some pruning. And so we're gonna do some pruning and we're gonna prune these bad apples, these pig apples, off the tree of life and put them into the garbage can of history where they belong.

This I'd like to say to the revolutionary forces in Babylon. I do not want people to think that I was setting an example on how to deal with the situation by leaving Babylon. I hope that you understand that it was my desire to remain in Babylon, to go underground in Babylon, and to continue my struggle and my participation in the struggle underground. I do not want people to believe that the best thing to do is to leave. I would advise them that if it's at all possible do not leave, but to stay in Babylon and to continue the struggle and make it possible for others who have already left to return because that is where my heart is. That is where I want to struggle. And that is where I will be returning to as soon as possible, and it's not far away, and, do you dig it? Do you dig it? Do you realize that I will be back and that I'll be back soon? And that just as I was able to get out without the pigs being able to do anything about it, I will be able to get back in without the pigs being able to do anything about it.

How can I not say something to - I mean all the names pop into my head. So I'll just say, right on people. Right on. Right on Brother Bobby. Right on Brother David, Right on.

CONT. FROM LAST ISSUE

THE PARAMILITARY RIGHT



"Hitler had the Jews; we've got the niggers. We have to put our main stress on the nigger question, of course, because that's what preoccupies the masses —but we're not forgetting the Jew. If the Jews knew what was coming—and believe me, it's coming as surely as the dawn—they'd realize that what's going to happen in America will make Nazi Germany look like a Sunday-school picnic. We'll build better gas chambers, and more of them, and this time there won't be any refugees. The average American has only a thin veneer of civilization separating him from the savage, you know—far less of a veneer than the Germans had. When that's stripped away and he really goes wild, when this thing really explodes, there'll be a rope hanging over the lamppost for every Jew and nigger in America. Jesus, I'd hate to be in their shoes! But you remember what Napoleon said about revolutions —you can't make an omelet without breaking eggs."

He paused and seemed to brood for a few seconds.

"Of course, there are some good Jews, you know. Jews like Dan Burros, who was a friend of mine. Yeah, print that some of my best friends are Jews. Dan Burros was one of the most patriotic, dedicated Americans you'll ever meet in your life."

Frankhouser fell silent. Burros was a fanatic American Nazi who served as Rockwell's lieutenant for years, then resigned in 1962 to edit a magazine called *Kill!* and finally became a Klan leader. He had rushed into Frankhouser's house in October 1965 brandishing an issue of *The New York Times* that exposed his Jewish ancestry, snatched a loaded pistol from the wall and blown his brains out.

Frankhouser's reverie was interrupted as the car came to a stop. After turning off the engine, Roger motioned the three of us to remain in our seats while he got out, holding what looked like a pair of castanets. Two loud, high-pitched clacks resounded through the thickly forested mountain slopes and were echoed almost instantly from up the road. I didn't see the two men, both dressed in plaid hunting jackets and matching caps, until they were within five feet of us. Both were young, with healthy outdoor faces, and both cradled 12-gauge shotguns under their arms. They said nothing, but Roger nodded to them, and then to us. We climbed out and stood beside the car, shivering in the still, moonless night.

"This is him," said Roger, jerking a thumb in my direction. "He's got a tape recorder, so if you don't want to say anything, don't."

One of the men didn't acknowledge my presence, but his companion, a tanned six-footer in his early 20s, walked forward and pumped my hand vigorously, introducing himself as Tom Jordan. "You just write the truth about us, mister, that's all, and we'll be real good friends." His smile was warm and open, his eyes empty. "We just *hate* to make enemies."

He turned and motioned us to follow him off the road and into the tangled underbrush. The snow was several inches deep and the going was difficult, doubly so since no one used a flashlight. We walked for about 20 minutes, most of the time in what appeared to be spirals —evidently to ensure that I would never be able to retrace our steps—and finally halted in a small clearing sentried by snow-laden pines. Roger clacked his noisemaker again; this time four men materialized out of the shadows, all dressed in identical hunting outfits, all carrying shotguns. Roger—who had lost a leg in Vietnam as a Green Beret—limped up to the group and spoke quietly for a moment, then called me to his side.

There were no introductions this time. He dug one booted foot into the ground and said, "Here it is. We've got everything out but the rockets. You can go take a look before we set the fuse."

I glanced down, but could see nothing but frozen earth. Roger's thin mouth grinned.

"Not bad, huh?" He reached over, pried his fingers into the ground and pulled up a dirt-covered trap door. A three-foot square of light glowed at my feet.

"The Feds could be standing on it and they'd never guess it was there," he said, as close to good humor as I ever saw him. "Go down and see for yourself."

I climbed with difficulty about 12 feet down a wooden ladder and into a narrow tunnel leading into a room approximately 22 feet long and 18 feet wide. The air was dank, and light flickered from three kerosene lamps hanging on the root-laced dirt walls. The bunker was equipped with electric light fixtures, but the generator, also underground, had been detonated earlier. There were two bunks built into a wall, a number of empty rifle racks and several lethal-looking red-finned rockets, each four feet long, reclining on roughhewn pine shelves.

Roger clambered down behind me, followed by Frankhouser and the Imperial Nighthawk. Jordan and the others remained outside.

"These rockets are little beauties," Roger told me, picking one up in his right hand like a toy. "They have a range of thirty miles with the right launching tube and carry one hell of a pay load. You could sit on a roof in New York and lob one of these on Newark and wipe out half a city block with nobody the wiser. It took us two years of experimenting and a lot of close calls before we got them operational, but now we're stockpiling them all across the country. They're light, portable and deadly—the ideal weapon for our kind of resistance movement."

Frankhouser called my attention to a small makeshift laboratory built into the back wall. "This is the chemical closet," he said, pointing to a jumble of Bunsen burners, beakers and empty test tubes. "Every bunker is equipped with one, no matter how rudimentary. We mainly use it for making nitroglycerin and nitroglycol."

I asked if that wasn't pretty volatile material to play around with, and Frankhouser appeared offended.

"We're not amateurs, you know. Every man in this unit goes through intensive training in the manufacture of nitroglycerin. If you've got the right chemicals and the right measurements, anybody with a fair degree of intelligence can do it."

He walked over to a half-empty steel filing cabinet, riffled through the drawers and extracted a sheaf of papers.

"These are a few of our confidential training manuals," he said, "but it won't do any harm for you to take a look." He handed me a three-page mimeographed pamphlet titled "Nitroglycerin." It began: "Basically, the production of nitroglycerin involves the gradual addition of glycerol to a mixture of nitric and sulphuric acids, followed by separation of the nitroglycerin from the waste products. The following directions will serve for the laboratory preparation of NG in small amounts." It concluded with the admonition to be careful in handling the solution, since "Nitro in its liquid form has from 30 to 60 times more explosive power than in dynamite form."

Roger slumped on one bunk in apparent boredom, but Frankhouser leaned over my shoulder, eagerly indicating other points of interest in the Minuteman ordnance manuals.

"That one is about Molotov cocktails," he said. "They're the crudest component of any resistance arsenal, but don't underestimate them on that account. They're still damn useful in street fighting or in terror bombings."

He handed me a booklet informing the student that "The best setup for making 'Molotov cocktails' is as follows: Using the small disposable-type beer bottles, filled with a homemade napalm mixture of two-thirds gasoline and one-third Duz, fill the bottles and cap them with an inexpensive bottle capper available at most drugstores. Tape a regular Tampax sanitary device to each bottle with masking tape."

Frankhouser laughed as I finished reading it aloud. "We should really set up joint training sessions with the niggers, shouldn't we? A community of common interest, and all that shit."

I asked him what else was manufactured in the bunker's laboratory facilities.

"You'd be surprised at the wide range of killers you can produce with relatively unsophisticated equipment," he replied, referring me again to the Minuteman manual, where novitiates were instructed that "A good cheap explosive can be made by distilling iodine crystals. When kept in ammonia they are very stable, but when dried out, become highly explosive. . . . Pure sodium metal while dry is perfectly stable, but when placed in water is a terrific explosive. It burns with intense heat and gives off a deadly gas."

The manual contained instructions for even more imaginative lethal agents: "Methane gas (or nerve gas) is obtained when small slivers of [a common commercial plastic] are inserted in a cigarette. The results are always fatal, and almost immediate. The only known antidote is atropine, which must be taken immediately."

I asked Frankhouser if these sorts of weapons had been used by Minutemen in the terrorist attacks and bombings that have plagued civil rights and peace groups in recent years.

He grinned and said, "Let's just say we're not doing all this for our own amusement."

Roger glanced at his watch and told us the fuses were ready. As we turned to go, Frankhouser gestured to a small barrel at the foot of one bunk, from which two wires extended out the tunnel and up the ladder.

"That's filled with hydrogen gas," he explained. "We use the wires to spark it off electrically. This whole place will disappear without a trace. And the noise of the explosion is a damn sight less than dynamite, too; you won't be able to hear it more than a half mile away."

Lugging the last of their cached weapons, the three Minutemen led the way up the ladder. I was the last to go, and Frankhouser turned to look back over his shoulder at me as he reached the top rung.

"All we'd have to do is slam this trap door shut and leave you here to go up with the bunker." He smiled boyishly. "Unless somebody knew just where to look, they'd never find your body in a thousand years."

Forcing a smile, I climbed out into the icy night air. Roger led us back to the edge of the clearing, stopping on the way to angrily snatch a cigarette from the Imperial Nighthawk's mouth and grind it out under his heel. Jordan was crouched over the wires that snaked out of the bunker's mouth. He looked up at Roger, waited for his nod, and then touched the two wires together. There was a soft muffled *blump* and the earth in the clearing rippled for a few seconds and then ebbed to its familiar contours. In the silence that followed, three of the men patted down the disturbed ground with spades while Jordan cut off the wires with a pair of shears where they extended from the earth.

Frankhouser, the Imperial Nighthawk and I turned to follow Roger back to the car.

"A shame that place was compromised," Frankhouser murmured as we trudged through the snow, "but we've got plenty more."

As I left the car, back at my downtown hotel, Frankhouser told me, "What you've seen tonight may not seem too impressive in a military sense. But remember, it only takes one match to ignite a tinderbox." With a sure flair for melodrama, he lit a cigarette and flicked the match into the gutter. Roger didn't say good night.

Five days later, I took a plane for Kansas City. When I checked in at the airport motel, DePugh was waiting for me as arranged. Tall and heavy-set, he was dressed casually in khaki slacks and a red wool pullover. His jet-black hair was receding, and he sported a luxuriant beard, "for my home town's centennial celebration"—an explanation I had no reason to doubt at the time, although I later discovered there was a different and far more practical reason. DePugh's features were handsome in a rawboned fashion, but his skin was unusually pale in the muted light of the motel coffee shop where we had an early lunch before driving to his office in Norborne. His dark eyes were deep-set and commanding, with a disconcerting habit of dancing around and beyond mine as he spoke and then suddenly fixing on me with a baleful stare to punctuate a point. In the time I spent with him, DePugh was invariably friendly and accommodating, but I never felt completely comfortable under that gaze.

Sipping a lemonade—he neither drinks nor smokes, but sucks constantly on medicated throat lozenges—DePugh went out of his way to put me at ease.

"From what the press prints about us, you probably expected me to be waiting for you with a Thompson submachine gun," he said, smiling. "But I'm glad you came, and I want you to be my guest while you're here. There's a lot I have to say, and not much time to say it in."

At the time, I missed the significance of that last remark, and merely wondered how he had earned his reputation for taciturn hostility to the press.

DePugh drove me to Norborne in his dusty station wagon, crammed with unopened correspondence and cartons stamped with the name of his veterinary-medicine firm. He appeared preoccupied on the ride and chatted desultorily about his impending four-year sentence for violation of the Federal Firearms Act, assuring me that the cache of machine guns discovered on his property by Federal agents was planted there as part of a "political frame-up." I asked him if he would peacefully surrender to serve his sentence when and if his appeals to the higher courts were exhausted. "I'll cross that bridge when I come to it," he replied.

DePugh's spirits seemed to lighten when we left Highway 10 and pulled into Norborne, a dusty farm community of 950 people, most of whom seem not to have decided whether their celebrated neighbor has put the town on the map or blackened its name with notoriety. The Biolab Corporation, a seedy seven-room, one-story white stucco building on Main Street, doubles as Minutemen headquarters, and the front room was piled high with literature and back copies of the organization's house organ, *On Target*. The sickly sweet smell of a vitamin A preparation clung heavily in the air and, in the back, veterinary medicines were being mixed in two huge

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FROM LAST PAGE

vats by white-smocked lab technicians. DePugh introduced me to his wife, a small apple-dumpling woman with a sweet smile and haggard eyes, and to his daughter Christine, a pert redhead who had recently been elected high school home-coming queen and was now addressing envelopes at an overflowing desk. He then ushered me into his private office, a windowless room lined with floor-to-ceiling bookshelves. DePugh slumped into the leather swivel chair behind his desk—ornamented with an antiaircraft shell and littered with clips of .30-caliber ammunition and unopened letters—and shouted for coffee, which was served us by a teenager with a scraggly beard whom he proudly introduced as a Minuteman infiltrator in the national headquarters of the leftist W. E. B. DuBois Clubs.

As we sipped our coffee, I glanced at some of the books on his shelves: Texts on guerrilla warfare by Ché Guevara, General Giap, Mao Tse-tung and General Grivas of the Cypriot resistance movement adjoined H. C. Lea's three-volume occult classic *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft*, the Department of State's four-volume *Documents of German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945*, *Assault Battle Drill* by Major General J. C. Fry, *On War* by Von Clausewitz and assorted volumes of Kant, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, George Orwell and Boris Pasternak. If nothing else, DePugh's reading tastes were catholic.

He watched me cataloging his library and then smiled indulgently. "If you're looking for *Mein Kampf*, it's not there," he said. "I read and reread it when I was a teenager. I could quote it to you from memory."

"Were you impressed?" I asked.

"I'm a compulsive reader," he said. "A lot of things impress me."

As my tape recorder spun quietly on the desk between us, I told DePugh about my icy foray into the Appalachians with his "troops," and asked how the caches of arms they were stockpiling across the nation would ultimately be used.

"Those stockpiles are being laid away for the time when the struggle reaches the point of armed confrontation. In the interim, we intend to continue our campaign of overt political propaganda and proselytizing."

"Do you really believe a handful of men with machine guns, mortars and homemade bombs could ever overcome the United States Army, the National Guard and local police forces?" I asked.

"First of all, we'll have a lot more than a handful of men ready to fight when the time comes. Of course, we could never overwhelm the Government's military power in conventional, set-piece battles; but the whole purpose of revolutionary guerrilla warfare is to so terrorize and demoralize the state apparatus that it'll collapse from its own internal stresses and contradictions. Castro didn't conquer Cuba militarily; at the time Batista fled into exile, the government forces still had overwhelming military superiority and could have wiped out the rebels in a traditional military battle—but Castro and Guevara blended political persuasion and terrorism with guerrilla warfare so effectively that they undermined the state's morale and its capacity to defend itself. Even after Dien Bien Phu, the French still maintained military supremacy in Indochina and could have fought on for years against the Vietminh; but Giap's brilliant use of insurgency tactics eroded the French will to resist and they scuttled and ran. At the height of his effectiveness on Cyprus, General Grivas had only *one hundred* full-time terrorists—but by selective assassinations and terrorism and dynamic use of psychological warfare, he brought the British to their knees."

He steepled his fingers thoughtfully.

"The success of any guerrilla insurgency is predicated on two factors: discontent among the population and irresolution in the state apparatus. Ruthless exploitation of those elements by even a tiny minority of insurgents can topple a government with the strongest military force at its disposal."

I listened, absorbed. Despite his fanaticism, and the patent absurdity of his *Weltanschauung*, the man emanated a disturbing aura of power and purpose. I had traveled to Kansas City expecting to encounter a corn-belt Robert Welch, an untutored hick demagogically peddling the tired nostrums of the ultraright, leavened with a fillip of paramilitarism to titillate the lunatic fringe; instead, I had found an urbane, intelligent, even mildly cynical political theorist who appeared seriously to envisage the day when his followers would seize power in a nation bled dry by foreign wars and ravaged at home by racial strife and economic upheaval.

He continued: "A key factor in the U. S. is that in the crunch we could count on support from sizable segments of the Armed Forces and police; in fact, if you break down Minuteman membership into employment categories, you'll find more cops than any other single group."

"You mentioned assassination as a particularly effective method of terrorizing the opposition," I said. "Are the Minutemen prepared to liquidate their political enemies? Have they already begun to do so?"

DePugh seemed prepared for the question. "You could hardly expect me to tell you if we'd removed anybody in the past," he said. "We don't volunteer that kind of information. In fact, up till now the Minutemen have adhered to what I call the principle of deliberate delay. The past eight years have been used to marshal our strength, to train and harden our cadres for the time when we'll be dealing in bullets instead of pamphlets; any premature action such as assassination could only give the state a perfect excuse for cracking down on us, and I've deliberately discouraged it."

"Then you've refrained from resorting to assassination only for strategic reasons?" I asked.

"I have no moral qualms whatsoever about political assassination. The stakes in this struggle are too high, for both America and all of Western civilization, for us to forgo any means, however brutal, that could tip the scales in our favor. In fact, of course, we're entering a praetorian age of assassination and counterassassination, where political questions won't be decided by the quality of your argument, but by the quality of your marksmanship."

He plucked the silver foil from a throat lozenge and popped it into his mouth. "You know," he went on, "one man with a telescopic rifle can have more impact on the course of history than a hundred political treatises or a dozen political parties. In any society



there are certain individuals who are the keystones of the state structure —and if they're surgically removed, one by one, the whole edifice could collapse."

He smiled. "When you really think about it, assassination is a relatively humane means of effecting political change. Instead of riots and revolutions and street battles that would kill hundreds of thousands, you merely eliminate a policy by eliminating its architects. Quite a progressive concept, actually."

"Are you training Minutemen as political assassins?" I asked.

He looked through a mound of papers on his desk and tossed me a four-page mimeographed pamphlet stamped CONFIDENTIAL. "When using telescopic sights," the paper began, "the sniper aims his rifle by placing the top of the post reticle (the cross hairs in most civilian-type scope sights) on the aiming point. But the sniper's final concentration should be on the reticle rather than the target." Every problem confronting the aspiring assassin, from adverse winds to crowds surrounding his victim, was covered; and particular attention was given to targets in moving vehicles: "At an average speed of 2100 feet per second, it will require one-half second for the bullet to travel 350 yards. During this half second an automobile would move about seven feet for each ten miles per hour it was traveling. At 50 miles per hour the vehicle would travel 35 feet in this one-half second. Since the average passenger car is about 12 feet long, it will be necessary to lead the front edge of the car by three and one half lengths for the bullet to strike in the vicinity of the driver's seat."

Two more pages of detailed instructions on firing distances and velocity ensued, complete with diagrams, followed by exhortations on accuracy when sniping at targets moving on foot. As I finished reading, DePugh leaned back in his chair. "That's just the basic instructions every one of our members starts out with," he said. "We follow it up with months of training and firing at moving and stationary targets. Man for man, we probably have better marksmen than the Army or Marines."

I started to hand the document back to him, but he waved it aside.

"Keep it as a souvenir," he said. "Maybe some day there'll be somebody you want out of the way, and it'll come in useful."

He crunched his lozenge. "Actually, you know, a rifle is a relatively crude means of killing a man. We go through damn thorough arms training, but guns are only one small element in a really modern resistance arsenal. All this stress on gun control and registration has always given me sort of a chuckle; I've often thought of writing a book called *1001 Ways to Kill a Man Without Using Firearms*—dedicated to Senator Dodd, of course."

"Would you care to name a few?"

"Well, the most lethal weapons at our disposal are chemical- and bacteriological-warfare agents. The man in the street seems to believe there's something science-fictional about these devices—that they can only be manufactured in ultra-sophisticated, top-secret Government laboratories. But the unique thing about C.B.W. agents is that they can be produced with a minimum of laboratory facilities, and at surprisingly low cost. All that's needed is a certain level of education and training and relatively rudimentary equipment; almost any competent chemist, for example, could synthesize deadly nerve gases of various types."

I knew DePugh was a trained chemist, and his Biolab facilities were far from rudimentary. "Have you ever tried to produce nerve gas yourself?" I asked.

Through the open door I could see his pretty teenage daughter laughing coquettishly with the hippie-Minuteman who had brought our coffee. My question struck me as unreal.

"Yes, we've done it right here at Biolab, and elsewhere across the country." DePugh smiled as he added, "Though our initial experiment got me into hot water with my kids. A few years ago, we developed our first batch of nerve gas and decided to try out a sample on the family pet, a one-hundred-eighty-pound Irish wolfhound. We diluted it down to approximately one tenth of what we thought would trigger a noticeable physiological response and gave him a whiff; he walked about six steps and fell over dead as a doornail. We tried artificial respiration and gave him oxygen, but none of our efforts could revive him and my children didn't speak to me for a week!"

The smile faded, and he stroked the antiaircraft shell on his desk pad abstractedly.

"Of course, our techniques are much more sophisticated now. We have a number of our own physicians and bacteriologists working on the production of biological agents and, just as important, antitoxins to immunize our own men. Most of this research goes on after hours in public and private institutions where they hold a regular job during the day and have an opportunity to moonlight a few hours in the evening on projects of their own. I'd suspect that some C.B.W. agents researched by us are even further developed than anything the Regular Army has; we've gone into such advanced phases of biological warfare as the selective breeding of various pathogens in order to increase or decrease their virulence and to render them resistant to antibiotics. You know, a knowledge of bacteriology coupled with a knowledge of genetics can produce pathological agents that are unique, that exist nowhere in nature; and a number of these have qualities particularly well suited to the activities of a resistance movement. They're portable, inexpensive to manufacture and easy to conceal; one man with a test tube in his pocket could wipe out a whole Army base. We would obviously never unleash such agents among the general population. This would only turn public sentiment unalterably against us. But by controlling virulence and range, we've got a selective death-dealing weapon that could effectively terrorize the opposition."

Mrs. DePugh entered the room to inform us that dinner would be at six and that she was going home now to bake a blueberry pie—"Bob's favorite dessert." DePugh tossed her the car keys.

With a deepening sense of unreality, I resumed our conversation. "What specific biological agents are the Minutemen currently working on?"

"There are fifty or sixty possibilities," he said, "but we've narrowed our sights down to seven that we feel are particularly well suited to guerrilla activity. Pneumonic-plague bacillus is one hell of a killer, but it's difficult to reduce the plague's virulence sufficiently to use it on specific targets without infecting the innocent. We've had the most success to date with equine encephalitis virus. We've developed three unique strains of it that we feel hold substantial promise and offer many interesting opportunities. One strain in particular, developed by a doctor in Oregon, is really a honey."

"When do you plan to put these biological agents to use?"

"Certainly not at this stage of the game," DePugh replied. "We'd only employ C.B.W. when the struggle had reached the final point of armed confrontation between us and the state. Right now we're essentially still in a premilitary phase, a period where terrorism and assassination may play a growing role, but not as in open, all-out struggle. For one thing, the population isn't ready to support an underground resistance movement yet; the economic and racial situations haven't deteriorated sufficiently. This is the time for the stiletto, not the howitzer. A poison that will kill one key man is more valuable to us now than a pathogen that can neutralize five thousand."

"Are you manufacturing poisons, too?" I asked.

"Our medical-research teams have also done exhaustive research in toxicology, and have selected a number of poisons that could be quite productive under the proper circumstances. There's really no such thing as a poison that doesn't leave a trace, you know, but there are poisons that are extremely difficult to detect in the system. Take insulin, which is readily available from any pharmacist and is a natural ingredient of the body. A dose of insulin that would have no effect on a diabetic would kill a healthy human being. But how would an autopsy ever be able to determine that it was murder, since any traces of insulin discovered in the system could just as well belong there naturally? Another dandy poison that's extremely difficult for a pathologist to detect is succinylcholine. You may remember that this is what the prosecution claimed Dr. Coppolino used to kill his wife, but the murderer messed things up by injecting it all in one place on the visible skin surface. If he'd been more cautious and dispersed it in two or three spots, preferably under the scalp, nobody would have been the wiser, because the likelihood of detecting succinylcholine in a routine autopsy is virtually nil."

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

To Our Friends, The Black Panthers
A Los Compañeros de Las Panteras Negras

Lima Peru
"El Sexto" Prison
6/17/69

Dear Friends:

The social-political prisoners of El Sexto wish to express to you through this message a firm and warm revolutionary hand clasp. We often receive news about the heroic struggles which the Afro-American people, led by the Black Panthers, are carrying on in the heart of the imperialist monster that oppresses and exploits us.

We think that your struggles, oriented towards the destruction of the system that oppresses, exploits and discriminates against the noble and brave black people, is essentially the same struggle going on in Asia, Africa and Latin America against the monopolies that plunder our riches and offend the dignity of the people.

We believe there is no other road than revolutionary armed struggle to conquer political power for our liberation as well as for yours. As our beloved and unforgettable Command Ernesto "Che" Guevara said: American imperialism is the number one enemy of humanity, and against the violence it unleashes against the people it subjects to its exploitation, the people should answer with revolutionary violence as the heroic people of Vietnam are doing.

It is precisely Vietnam with its daily quota of sacrifices that points out the road and shows us that against the decision of a people to be master of its destiny, there is no power capable of terrifying or beating it. All the black companeros (friends) who have refused and are refusing to join the American troops in Vietnam and thereby becoming accomplices of the imperialist crimes against that noble people, deserve our admiration and warmest praise.

Our country is going through a deep crisis. Recently, due to the expropriation of the properties of the imperialist octopus, International Petroleum Co., by the governing of the military junta, American imperialism has applied certain economic sanctions and is threatening to apply even more drastic ones. We are dealing with a very particular conjunction. All of us, as patriots and revolutionaries, are willing to help in the defense of national sovereignty and dignity to the last drop of our blood if we are attacked, but we protest to you and to public American opinion in general, the domestic anti people's and fascist like policy of the military junta of the government led by Velazco Alvarado and his coherts.

In these past few days, the national university students have unleashed a militant struggle for the repeal of the Organic Law of the University of Peru which annuls the autonomy and joint government of the students, professors and university authorities. The brutal repression of the student movement has already cost two deaths in the City of Ayacucho, where a curfew has been imposed. Workers demonstrations for higher wages and against the firing of union leaders and activists are bloodily repressed with bullets.

All this makes us reaffirm our decision to continue to struggle, whatever the consequences, following the example of our heroic martyrs and comrades, Luis de la Puente Uceda, Guillermo Lebaton, Maximo Velando, Javier Heraud, Luis Zapata Bodere, Edgarde Telle, Rube Tupayachi, Paul Escobar, Jaime Martinez, Enrique Quintana and many other guerilla fighters.

Until victory always,

Jose A. Bustos
Miguel Turo
Luis Codarlupe Torres
Clodoaldo Ayunque Ancassi
Osvaldo Garcia A.
Gerado Benavides Caldas
Mario Rodrigues Mesias
Omar Benavides Delgado
Armando Freire
Carlos Pachas
Abelardo Collantes
Carlos Belanos G.
Jorge Nako
Alfonso Arata
Antonio Meza Bravo
Juvenal Zamallea C.

Lima-Peru
"El Sexto",
17 de junio de 1969

Queridos compañeros:

Los presos politico-sociales del Sexto, queremos hacerle llegar por intermedio de la presente, un fuerte y emocionado abrazo revolucionario. Frecuentemente tenemos noticias de las heróicas luchas que el pueblo afro-norteamericano, dirigido por las panteras negras, desarrolla en el corazón del monstruo imperialista que nos oprime y explota.

Creemos que vuestras luchas, orientadas a la destrucción del sistema que oprime, explota y discrimina a ese noble y valiente pueblo de color, es en esencia la misma lucha que se lleva a cabo en Asia, Africa y America Latina, contra los monopolios que saquean nuestra riqueza y ofenden la dignidad de los pueblos.

Tanto para la liberación nuestra como la de ustedes, no creemos que haya otra solución que la lucha armada revolucionaria por la conquista del poder político. El imperialismo norteamericano, como lo dijera nuestro querido y inolvidable Comandante Ernesto "Che" Guevara, es el enemigo numero uno de la humanidad, y a la violencia que despliega contra los pueblos sometidos a su explotación, los pueblos deben oponerle la violencia revolucionaria como lo viene haciendo el heróico pueblo vietnamita.

Precisamente el Viet Nam con su cuota diaria de sacrificios, nos señala el camino y nos demuestra que, contra la decisión de un pueblo a ser dueño de su destino, no habrá fuerza capaz de atemorizarlo o vencerlo. Todos los compañeros negros que se han negado y se niegan a incorporarse a las tropas norteamericanas en Viet Nam y hacerse cómplices del crímen imperialista contra ese noble pueblo, merecen toda nuestra admiración a los mas cálidos elogios.

Nuestro país atraviesa por una honda crisis. Recientemente, a raiz de la expropiación de los bienes del pulpo imperialista International Petroleum Company por la Junta Militar de Gobierno, el imperialismo norteamericano ha aplicado ciertas sanciones económicas y amenaza con aplicar otras mas drásticas. Se trata de una coyuntura muy particular. Todos nosotros, como patriotas y revolucionarios, estamos dispuestos a dar en la defensa de la soberanía y dignidad nacionales, hasta la última gota de nuestra sangre si pretende agredirnos, pero, denunciamos ante ustedes y la opinión pública norteamericana en general, la política interna antipopular y fascistizante de la Junta Militar de Gobierno dirigida por Velazco Alvarado y sus secuaces.

En estos días, el estudiantado universitario nacional libra fragorosas luchas por la derogatoria de la Ley Orgánica de la Universidad Peruana que anula la autonomía y el cogobierno estudiantil. La policía ha invadido los recintos universitarios deteniendo y golpeando a alumnos, profesores y autoridades universitarias. La represion brutal del movimiento estudiantil ha cobrado ya dos muertos en la ciudad de Ayacucho, donde se ha impuesto el Toque de Queda. Las manifestaciones obreras en pro de aumentos salariales y contra los despidos de dirigentes y activistas sindicales, son reprimidas a sangre y fuego.

Todo esto, nos reafirma en la decisión de continuar la lucha hasta las últimas consecuencias, siguiendo el ejemplo de nuestros héroes y mártires, camaradas Luis de la Puente Uceda, Guillermo Lobatón, Máximo Velando, Javier Heraud, Luis Zapata Bodero, Edgardo Tello, Ruben Tupayachi, Paul Escobar, Jaime Martines, Enrique Amaya Quintana y tantos otros combatientes guerrilleros.

Hasta la victoria, siempre.
Presos políticos del Sexto.

BIJON DAVIS SHOT BY BLACK PIG AGENT

"Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood".---Chairman Mao

So was it with Brother Bijon Davis, of Social Action Committee of 20, that was fatally shot Sunday, June 15, 1969, by black pig agents. Brother Bijon was a member of one of the groups that make up the Black United Front.

Two other beautiful brothers who also caught bullets from the same agents were Brother James (Gator) Duncan, and Brother Leon Slaughter, also members of Social Action Committee of 20. Brother Gator was shot in the back so close to the spinal cord that doctors are not sure as to whether the bullet will be removed or not.

Brother Leon is in fair condition after being shot in the stomach.

Only one person has been arrested in connection with the shooting, and four persons were reportedly firing on the three brothers.

The pigs do not realize that we are revolutionaries and are ready for his advances. The pigs and their lacky agents do not know that, "This army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield. No matter what the difficulties and hardships, so long as a single man remains, he will fight on". ---Chairman Mao

NO MORE OCCUPATION OF OUR COMMUNITY
FREE HUEY
Sister Andre Weatherby
Communications Secretary
Kansas City Chapter
Black Panther Party

LATINO 7

PIGS VAMP ON YOUNGEST BROTHER

Jose Rios just turned 18. Friends say he stands about 5 foot 5 and weighs around 130 pounds. He has been ill for several weeks, suffering from hepatitis. Yet when he went to the hospital he was handcuffed and "escorted" by 20 San Francisco pigs.

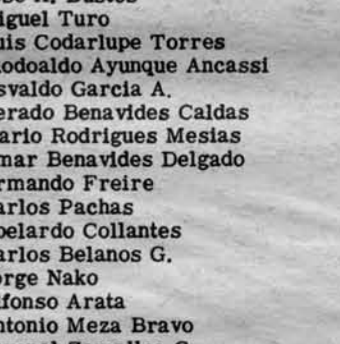
Jose is one of 7 de la Raza, who have been indicted for the murder of Joe Brodnik, an undercover cop shop with his partner's gun on May Day. His widow, Mrs. Jessie Brodrik, has been publicly asking the death penalty for Los Siete.

And though no trial has yet been held, the brothers have also been declared guilty by the straight press. Their treatment in jail indicates they are already being punished.

Jose recently appeared in court, where it was decided he must stand trial as an adult, even though he was only 17 at the time of the alleged murder. "His eyes were yellow. It was obvious he was very sick," says Sue Castro of the defense committee. Attorney Charles Garry demanded that Jose's illness be entered into the record.

The judge was reluctant to do it," says Sue, "until Garry talked about a possible epidemic." The guardian of justice then said Jose must be seen by a doctor.

Jose told the court he had been sick and needed medical attention. He said the doctor had seen him before and prescribed asprin



JOSE RIOS

for the illness.

For his court appearance Jose was not given his own clothes. Instead he was given some ragged clothing and not allowed to have his hair cut. "They tried to make him look like a bum," says Sue.

The judge's instruction finally got Jose to a hospital on Sunday. Now the defense committee for Los Siete is trying to get proper medical care for Nelson Rodriguez, another brother who is ill.

"Its a humiliating kind of thing," says Sue. She said the brothers have even been forced to go weeks at a time without showers.

Roger Alvarado sees the case of Los Siete as part of a national pattern. "As the Brown movement has become a national effort, the Man has accelerated his attacks on Brown leadership," he says.

Alvarado mentioned the "jive" conspiracy charges against Brown leaders in Los Angeles. He also referred to the case of Black Beret leader Sal Candelaria in San Jose. Candelaria's family was forced to leave town fearing their lives were in danger, Roger said. Candelaria, himself, was committed to Agnew for several days without so much as a hearing.

At home, "Alioto and Cahill are waging a war against the Brown community," said Alvarado "Their street combat force is now up to 400," he said. "They got 150 more pigs for the 'Paranoid Squad' and now they even have a second-string for the Tac Squad."

Reprinted from Berkeley Barb

La Raza

La Raza presents a series of five benefits for the Breakfast for Children program in the Mission District.

Music will be by the Circus, and the Clover, plus there will be satire by the Teatro De La Calle; Latino foods will be on sale.

The dates for the dances are:
June 27
July 11
August 1
August 8
August 29

They will be held at :
St. Peter's Hall
1249 Alabama Street (near 24th St.)
San Francisco

Prices are .75¢ for singles, and $1.25 for couples. All the money goes to feed hungry children. The children are fed every morning at St. Peter's Hall, 1249 Alabama St., and the Cabaret on Valencia St., between 14th St. and Duboce. All young school-age children are invited to participate. The hours are 7:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. The meals are free. The benefits, of course, are open to everyone, to as many people who will come.

Thank you,
La. Raza Breakfast for Children Program

Letter
From a G.I.

Dear Brothers,

I am a white G.I. stationed at Ft. Jackson. I recently read the open letter from a black G.I. I live with this man Pvt. Woodfin, and at present I am pending court martial for distribution of un-official publications with him. And I am writing asking you and your people of the black communities of N.Y. to stand by us as we fight these people who try to oppress us in every way they know how. The one thing we need more than anything is more pressure put on the brass and the only people who can do it are on the outside. I myself grew up in Harlem so I know what it is like when people speak of one another being oppressed. We here at Ft. Jackson's G.I United Front Against the War feel that it is ridiculous to have the workers, who are having their own problems with democracy rights here in the U.S. go to Vietnam and fight when they themselves are not even free. I feel that the black and white working peoples should join together and resist by all means this killing in Vietnam, even if it means revolution. The army has trained me to fight and when I leave this hell I shall fight back as best as I know how. Please give us your full support. Panther Power.

Pvt. Kenneth Cross
RA 11843754
B - 16 - 4
Ft. Jackson, S.C.
29207



News From SCEF

Cincinnati, Ohio---Joseph Mulloy and Don Pratt have challenged a decision of the U S Court of Appeals upholding their sentences for draft refusal.

They have asked all eight judges of the Sixth U.S. Judicial Circuit to review their cases and reverse the decision by a three-judge panel of the court.

The three judges affirmed five-year prison terms given the young men by Judge James F. Gordon in U.S. District Court at Louisville, Ky., in April, 1968.

The judges did say that the sentences appear to be "severe," and added that Judge Gordon will have an opportunity to consider reduction under the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure.

However, Robert A. Sedler of Lexington, attorney for Pratt and Mulloy, says that anything short of complete freedom for the young men will be a travesty on the American system of justice.

Sedler declares that the three judges erred in not upholding Mulloy's claim that he is a conscientious objector. He contends that this raises grave constitutional questions which need to be decided in favor of Mulloy and others who think as he does.

Mulloy is an organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), which has its headquarters in Louisville but works all over the South to end racial injustice, poverty, and war.

Mulloy and his wife Karen were organizing in the mountains of West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky, helping people in those areas to fight injustice.

Mulloy was registered with Draft Board 47 in Louisville, the same one that refused to defer Cassius Clay as a Muslim minister. Mulloy was first declared eligible for military service about the time that he helped the people in Pike County, Kentucky, to organize against strip mining of their land.

His final induction notice was delayed while he and four other SCEF workers fought sedition charges brought against them in Pike County. Their attorneys contended that coal operators were behind the sedition charges and Mulloy's classification as 1-A.

District Judge Gordon and the three appellate judges held that Mulloy didn't ask for deferment as a conscientious objector until he "realized that the platoon sergeant was about to blow the whistle."

Sedler notes in his petition for rehearing that even men already in military service have a right to discharge as conscientious objectors.

At Mulloy's trial, the clerk of the draft board testified that nobody had been classified as a conscientious objector in the 17 years she had been with the board. The board covers the West End of Lousville, made up of mostly lower-income black and white people. It has 13, 000 registrants.

In Pratt's case, Sedler contends that the three judges erred in not considering his objection to war on the basis of the judgement at Nuremberg in the case of Nazi war criminals.

"This nation has not hesitated to judge the legality of a war waged by others," Sedler declared in his petition,"A new era in international relations, recognizing the responsibility of individuals for violations of international law, was supposedly ushered in at Nuremberg.

"But instead of upholding the rule of law in international affairs, instead of judging whether this country rather than a vanquished foe has violated international law, our courts have resorted to 'judicial sleight of hand' and have shirked their responsibility.

"If the executive is waging an illegal war in Vietnam, the courts by refusing to declare its illegality have become accomplices to the violation of international law.

"Those young men who believe that the war in Vietnam is illegal and who refuse induction on that ground must go to prison without ever having had a court pass on their contention."

Mulloy issued a statement in which he said: "The court had declared that I have political beliefs in sustaining my conviction. Indeed I do! And I will not abandon these beliefs to fit their needle's eye definitions and categories in order to qualify for C.O status.

"My mind does not categorize its values and action under headings of philosophy, sociology, politics, religion, etc. My actions are an attempt to live by a universal system of values combining all of these fields and derived from all my knowledge and experience.

"My sojourn in prison will be the result of the courts' and the draft boards' inability to grasp or accept the desire of men like myself to make consistency of values combining all of these fields values part of American life."

Mulloy, a native of Louisville, has been living in Prestonsburg, Ky. Pratt lives in Lexington, Ky. Both are free under bond pending the final outcome of their appeals.

HUNGER

The Dreaded Disease

In a country that has the reputation of being the richest country in the world, people are starving to death. WHY?

THE FASCIST POWER STRUCTURE and its running dogs (the politician) will quickly try to evade the issue by saying they have hundreds of programs to handle the situation. What situation? We are talking about Hunger. The Poverty Programs that receive uncountable sums do not benefit the people and in reality, are a farce. They are a farce because the monies are divided into sections to pay staffs that do no work, leaving nothing for the people. So the people suffer and the oppressor states that he is doing his best. Who do you think would possibly be fooled by this bullsh-t?

The Free Breakfast for School Children has been attacked by a bunch of idiots who capitalize off the plight of the oppressed people, black people in particular. The issue of using a coloring book as an excuse to turn the people against the people's Vanguard will fail because this same fascist pig that is oinking the loudest is one of the same breed of pig that enjoys a position of wealth and greed supplied by the blood of the red men: and neck of the black man. He romanticizes this genocide of both races (red and black). In his history books, on his television, in his movie theaters, and he praises his murderous genocide in Vietnam. But his feathers are ruffled when he is shown as something less than the supreme being he attempts to portray. The Imperialistic Government and the enforcement of their rum soaked laws created to deny complete freedom of the oppressed people shall fail in its attempts to deny the people their true roll in the present day society. As long as there is a Black Panther Party, the Breakfast Program shall be implemented, and after it is implemented, the people shall keep it alive. The avaricious businessman, the fascist gestapo dogs the racist Power Pigs and all the toms and lackeys shall be as a ship sinking from the inability to escape. Hunger is a nasty word -- It cannot be hidden but it can be cured. The care packages that circle the globe should begin at home. The money that sends a rocket ship to the moon (so they say) - should be spent in the Black Community (Indiana) The Mexican American, the Chinese-American, the poor white and communities that we ommited. The face of hunger cannot be hidden with fences like Daley tried to hide Chicago and failed.

The People demand an end to the lying fascist that deprive them of their rights. They demand an end to racist education, to slum dwellings, to inferior food stuffs and we welcome the attacks on the Black Panther Party, for it shows the people that we are uncovering the oppressor's game. And, in order for him to continue to exploit you, he must silence us. The Breakfast Program is a starter, the people's garden is also reality. Before it is over, complete freedom will be ours.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
HUEY MUST BE FREE!
Campbell, Indiana Chapter

SWP Protests Harassment of Panthers

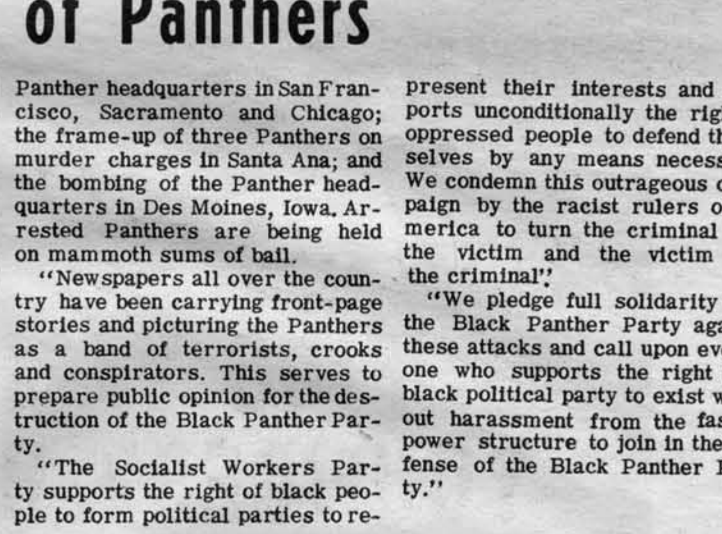
The Bay Area Socialist Workers Party yesterday protested what it called "the campaign of harassment, frame-ups and smear tactics that is being directed against the Black Panther Party on a national scale."

"In the past two months we have seen the witch-hunt hearings of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations; an investigation of Bay Area Black Panther leaders by a federal grand jury; the indictment of twenty-one New York Black Panthers on phony conspiracy charges; the arrest of the entire leadership of the New Haven, Connecticut, Black Panther Party branch; the raids on the Panther headquarters in San Francisco, Sacramento and Chicago; the frame-up of three Panthers on murder charges in Santa Ana; and the bombing of the Panther headquarters in Des Moines, Iowa. Arrested Panthers are being held on mammoth sums of bail.

"Newspapers all over the country have been carrying front-page stories and picturing the Panthers as a band of terrorists, crooks and conspirators. This serves to prepare public opinion for the destruction of the Black Panther Party.

"The Socialist Workers Party supports the right of black people to form political parties to represent their interests and supports unconditionally the right of oppressed people to defend themselves by any means necessary. We condemn this outrageous campaign by the racist rulers of America to turn the criminal into the victim and the victim into the criminal".

"We pledge full solidarity with the Black Panther Party against these attacks and call upon everyone who supports the right of a black political party to exist without harassment from the fascist power structure to join in the defense of the Black Panther Party."



OPEN LETTER TO CHAIRMAN BOBBY SEALE

In these frustrating times when our leaders are being jailed and murdered, a lot of the wieght of the Black Panther Party is falling on you.

The Panthers in particular are seeing their most difficult days and they are looking towards you for "immediate" leadership or decision making. The Panthers have always held themselves responsible to the people therefore the people should in turn hold themselves responsible to the Panthers and abide and believe in your word. They should know by now after all the sacrifices that have been made that you wouldn't lead them astray.

No matter how difficult the road seems or how many obstacles stand in your way, you must continue until the 10 points of the Party platform are carried out. When things get their roughest, and times their hardest it can only mean one thing, we're closer than ever to complete realization of our ideology. With you as one of the guiding forces in the difficult days of the revolution we'll be there to see it.

A Panther Moral to all the Black Panthers: "Wear your Black beret proudly in the difficult days ahead".

Your sincere Brother to the end,
Kioma Hines (Friend of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia)



NATIONAL CONFERENCE

FOR A

UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

OAKLAND CALIFORNIA

JULY 18, 19, 20,





FASCISM THE POWER OF FINANCE CAPITAL ITSELF

THIS CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IS CALLED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE FREEDOM OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND POLITICAL FREEDOM FOR ALL PROLETARIAN TYPE ORGANIZATIONS, THE FREEDOM AND POLITICAL WORK OF ALL STUDENTS, FARMERS, WORKERS, AND THE LUMPEN MUST BE DEVELOPED INTO A NATIONAL FORCE, A FRONT WHICH ANSWERS THE BASIC DESIRES AND NEEDS OF ALL PEOPLE IN FASCIST, CAPITALISTIC, RACIST AMERICA. PRIMARY OBJECTIVE WILL BE COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE TO END FASCISM.

IN OAKLAND CALIFORNIA, JULY 18, 19, 20 & 21st REPRESENTATIVES FROM AROUND THE COUNTIES OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE, SOME 5,000 OR MORE REPRESENTATIVES WILL DEVELOP A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM. HEADQUARTERS BLACK PANTHER PARTY OFFICE, 3106 SHATTUCK AVE., BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, 845-0103 OR 845-0104.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

REGISTRATION FORM: FOR REPRESENTATIVES OR INDIVIDUALS FOR THE COMING SUMMER IN OAKLAND OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

OFFICIAL **REGISTRATION FORM** B.P.P. AND I.L.S. READ THOROUGHLY

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA
OAKLAND, CALIF. JULY 18TH, 19TH, 20TH.
FRI. SAT. SUN.

✚ DONATION REGISTRATION FEES TO ATTEND CONFERENCE

- ADVANCE REGISTRATION POSTMARK MIDNIGHT SAT. JULY 12TH..................$4.00 DOLLARS
- REGISTRATION FEE AFTER 12 A.M., SAT., JULY 12TH _ _ _ _ _ $6.00 DOLLARS

✚ UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTIFIED OF CHANGE

- CHECK IN CENTER IS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 3106 SHATTUCK AVENUE, BERKELEY, CALIF. 94705 PH. (415) 845 0103, 845 0104
- CHECK IN TIME STARTS JULY 17TH, THURSDAY, 9:00A.M. THROUGH FRIDAY, 5:00P.M. CONFERENCE STARTS FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 18TH AT 7:00 P.M. SHARP.
- WE SUGGEST TO ALL PEOPLE. REPRESENTATIVES AND PARTIES OF ORGANIZATIONS TO TRY AND ARRIVE EARLY AS POSSIBLE, STARTING THRUSDAY MORNING JULY 17TH 9:00A.M. SO ALL PEOPLE CAN BE PROPERLY ASSISTED IN GETTING HOUSING, AND OTHER NECESSARY INFORMATION THAT MANY THOUSANDS WILL NEED TO KNOW FOR THE DURATION OF THE CONFERENCE.

RETAIN THIS SECTION

REMEMBER REGISTRATION NO. 400 D
CUT HERE RETAIN THIS PART

CUT ALONG HERE

MAIL THIS SECTION OF REGISTRATION WITH $4.00 DOLLAR MONEY ORDER TO B.P.P. U.F.A.F. CONFERENCE HEDQS. 3106 SHATTUCK AVE BERKELEY, CALIF., 94705

PLEASE CHECK ALL RELEVENT SQUARES

- ☐ *Enclosed is registration donation fee plus a donation $_____.____.*
- ☐ *I am coming to the conference for a UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA*
- *HOUSING* → ☐ *I will NOT need housing arrangements.* ☐ *I WILL need housing arrangements.*
- ☐ *Other members of my organization will also attend. How many? ________*
- ☐ *Enclosed is my advance $4.00 Dollar registration donation fee.*
- ☐ *I enclose $_____.____ to help with the cost of the conference for a UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM.*
- ☐ *Please send registration blanks, for other people in my organization. Send publicity materials etc. so that I may aid the conference by duplicating and distributing leaflets, posters, bumper stickers etc.*

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION NO. 400D

NAME ZIP CODE.

PLEASE PRINT

STREET ADDRESS CITY STATE

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PLEASE PRINT

PHONE ADDRESS CITY STATE

MAIL THIS REG. FORM WITH REG. DONATION FEE OF $4.00 (PLEASE SEND MONEY ORDER) **TO** B.P.P. U.F.A.F. CONFERENCE Hdqtrs 3106 SHATTUCK AVE. BERKELEY. CALIF. 94705

WHAT WE WANT



1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.



2. We want full employment for our people.



3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black Community.



4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.



5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.



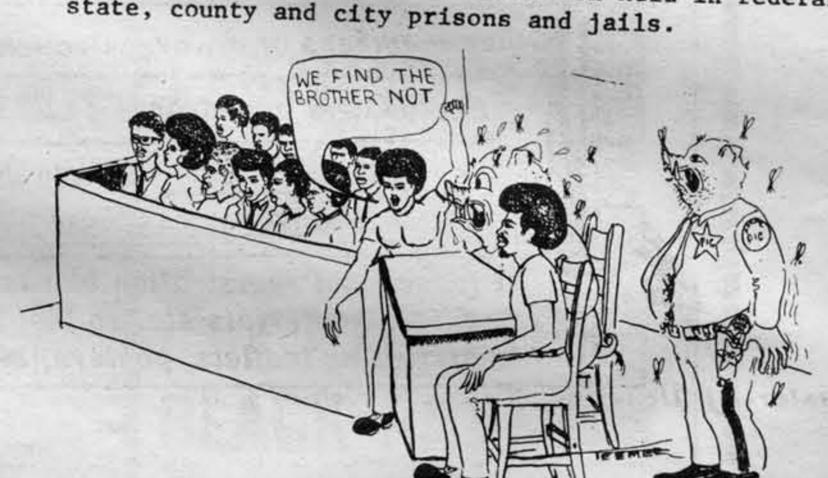
6. We want all black men exempt from military service.



7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.



8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.



9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

October 1966

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. **That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.** Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long estal ..ed should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. **But, when a long train of abuses and unsurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.**



SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself:

"... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

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I would like to join the efforts of all those who are working to defend Eldridge Cleaver from political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.

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Robert Scheer, Director

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatum by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

8 POINTS OF ATTENTION

1) Speak politely.
2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
3) Return everything you borrow.
4) Pay for anything you damage.
5) Do not hit or swear at people.
6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7) Do not take liberties with women.
8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

1) Obey orders in all your actions.
2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.

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BY GEORGE BRADY

